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The Week

FASCISM is coming in Japan by way of assassination. No matter who was behind the cowardly youths who murdered Premier Inukai, and no matter what was their intention, the military will gain the advantage. The army has dictated that the new Cabinet must be nonpartisan and nonpolitical, which means that whatever pretense of parliamentary government was left has been abolished and a military dictatorship established. Even if the original plan of having Suzuki succeed Inukai as leader of the Seiyukai party and Premier were carried out, the result would be much the same, for he has Fascist leanings. Previous assassinations have cleared out of the way statesmen far more liberal than Inukai. It may be that the reaction against representative government in Japan is merely a protest against its overwhelming corruption, and against the misery which has engulfed capitalism all over the world, now aggravated in the Far East by active imperialism. But the fact that it leaves the military in sole power bodes ill for the future of world peace and for the domestic peace of the Japanese people themselves. It looks more and more as if Japan were about to embark on the desperate adventure of attacking Russia. Will any European nation be so reckless as to aid her in the West? Upon that may depend not only the immediate decision of Japan, but the possibility of world war and world revolution.

DEAR Al Smith: We agree heartily with you that it is time to call a halt on the veterans' graft, and that a big program of public works is essential. But your arguments for a sales tax and against high income rates on rich men are both anti-social and juvenile. We do not expect you to believe this because we say so; we are forewarned by your radio speech that you will avoid all criticism on this score by calling names—anyone who disagrees with you is a demagogue. You are now so surrounded by persons who have the class prejudices of the rich that it is probably difficult for sound economics to percolate to you. But we suggest that you educate yourself in the sales tax by consulting Professor Seligman of Columbia or almost any of the better younger economists in any university. We suggest that you investigate the likelihood of the rich escaping taxation through the route of tax exempts by asking Professor Ernest Minor Patterson of the University of Pennsylvania, or Dr. C. O. Hardy of the Institute of Economics in Washington, who wrote a valuable book on the subject. We furthermore suggest that before you make any more public speeches in the present desperate situation of the world, you reflect deeply on the philosophy you are now expressing, that the interests of the poor are identical with the interests of the rich. Mellon, Coolidge and Hoover expressed it before you. Do you really belong on their side of the fence?

MR. Owen D. Young has issued another statement that he does not want the Democratic nomination for the presidency; and this time there seems a greater disposition than before to believe he means what he says. We do not know the reasons which caused him to take his decision, but we feel it was a wise one for him and, assuming that he had a chance of being nominated and elected, for the country. With all credit to Mr. Young's conspicuous abilities as financier and industrialist, we cannot forget that he is identified in the public mind as the chief spokesman of the power interests in America

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The question of public or private ownership and operation of the electrical utilities is one of the two or three most important problems with which we are confronted, and Mr. Young stands committed to the continuation of the present policies which in our judgment are crippling the development of this country. We think it unlikely that the American people would put an avowed power-trust spokesman into the White House, no matter how able; and we believe that if they did so, it would be a calamity.

IT IS still impossible to assess the ultimate responsibilities in the tragedy which the Lindbergh case has now become. The European press has been saying that the kidnaping represented a development of the American "get rich quick" spirit, but we do not yet know if even this is true; it is quite possible that the deed was the work of some insane person, and that the subsequent negotiations through various intermediaries were with unscrupulous racketeers who had nothing to do with those who actually stole and murdered the baby. Many people have assailed the New Jersey police, without knowing anything about the difficulties they confronted, and despite the fact, which now seems clear, that only by a miracle could they have succeeded in saving the baby's life. In one quarter only may we already say with conviction that a just indictment lies. The sensational press of the country, and the New York tabloids in particular, handled the story with an irresponsibility and a downright moral obliquity which are unforgivable. We do not refer to the theory that these papers hindered the search for the child by paying so much attention to it; we refer to the deliberate fabrication of news, day after day, fabrication for no other conceivable purpose than to sell more papers. Whether or not the editors of these journals played fair with the Lindberghs, they did not keep faith with their readers—or with themselves.

W. IRVING GLOVER, Second Assistant Postmaster General, is a loyal Republican, and anxious to see Mr. Hoover reëlected. Like all fanatics, he can't understand how anybody can fail to share his enthusiasms, and in a speech a few days ago at Springfield, Missouri, he spoke up bluntly and clearly and said so. In fact, addressing a convention of postmasters, he warned them to "get out on the firing line for Hoover or resign." A number of Congressmen, and the editors of some newspapers, have expressed great surprise and indignation at this and are demanding Mr. Glover's scalp. We agree with them that he is playing dirty politics in a dirty way, but we should like to inquire just what they expect? For generations, the postmasters of the country have constituted a political army, mobilized on behalf of the party which happens to be in power. It has long been both true and widely known that a postmaster foolish enough to ignore this first duty of a federal employee was soon as his conduct was noticed. Civil service has done something to remedy this, but not very much, and particularly in the South. Mr. Glover's crime consists in his refusal to help support the false front any longer; and those who believe in realism must agree that before being dismissed, he ought to get a medal—a leather one, of course, but still a medal.

THE financial pages of the newspapers on May 9 blossomed forth with a long statement on behalf of six directors of the Electric Bond and Share Company—Messrs. E. K. Hall, George H. Howard, Edwin G. Merrill, William C. Potter, Lewis E. Pierson and Frederick Strauss. These gentlemen felt that they had something to explain to the general public, as they certainly have, regarding the amazing transaction described in The New Republic of April 13, 1932, under the title, "Power Trust Morals." Our article told the story of how, in the halcyon days of the bull market, a group of employees of the company (including the president, the chairman of the board of directors and thirteen vice presidents), after having pledged themselves to sacred secrecy, were allowed to purchase 480,000 shares of stock at $40 a share, although it was then selling at about three times that rate. When the boom ended, and the stock fell far below even the price of $40, this group of insiders was allowed to cancel the whole transaction, and they were even paid 6 percent on the money they had invested. As a result of this affair, the company lost, it is estimated, $17,000,000 outright, while the profits sacrificed through not marketing the stock in the normal way amounted to about $91,000,000.

THE six directors do their best to explain this transaction. The reason these 480,000 shares of stock were sold to the officials of the company at one-third its value was, they now explain, because the Electric Bond and Share Company was afraid these men would be hired away by competitors, and it was thought that a little present of a few million dollars would increase their loyalty. And why was the transaction afterwards canceled? Because these officers were being embarrassed by the instalments they were paying on the purchase price of their stock. The president, for instance, had been allotted 30,000 shares; the chairman of the board received the same amount, and thirteen vice presidents got an average of more than 11,000 shares each. These directors apparently feel that they have nothing to regret, and from the point of view which prevails in the average big corporation, they are right. What they did was rather more blatant than customary corporate practice, but it was far from being unique. To take money which belongs, morally, to the stockholders, or to the consuming public which uses the products, and to line the pockets of the insiders is a practice which is thoroughly familiar.

THE incredible Gaston B. Means seems to be that

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activities have not been curtailed by the depression. Not only is he reported to have taken more than $100,000 from Mrs. Edward B. McLean on the pretext of recovering the Lindbergh baby, but he has gone into the good old racket of supplying professional patriots with anti-radical dope. The daily press reports that he sold awful secrets about Communists, Socialists, liberals and other frightening folk to Mrs. Finley Shepard (the former Helen Gould) and departed with another hundred thousand. It is said that he also engaged in similar transactions with Mr. Ralph Easley, of the National Civic Federation. We are not surprised that these well known hundred-percenters were gullible enough to buy this sort of poppycock; being gullible is the entrance requirement of their lodge. What does surprise us is that they did not know enough about Mr. Means in advance to realize that he was totally unreliable as a purveyor of information on any subject whatever. Don't the patrioteers ever read the papers?

IN RECENT weeks a great deal of propaganda has been set afloat in America to the effect that Great Britain has turned that famous corner, around which prosperity is supposed to be lurking. The propaganda, of course, has come from high-tariff advocates, anxious to prove that since Great Britain abandoned free trade, things have been going famously. On this point, there is some interest in the following passage from a private letter written by an exceptionally well informed English economist:

> I know no reason to suppose that there is an improvement in our [England's] economic situation. I take this view because (1) the shipping statistics show a continuous decline (2) the same is true of railroad traffic (3) there is no improvement in textiles, iron and steel, or coal, except in the home-made of the first named (4) the decline in the number of unemployed is factitious and is due to the fact that 385,000 people have been struck off the live register of unemployed through the new regulations (5) the rise of the pound is due to the comparatively heavier weight of other people's troubles (6) the new confidence in Great Britain is due, first, to the temporary collapse of Labor, second, to the certainty that while these people are in, there will be no new social experiments and, sooner or later, a decrease in the income tax, third, to the comfort taken by manufacturers in the prospect of a rise of prices in a protected market through the tariff. No serious industrial reorganization is taking place in any direction. I believe that we are in for a shock of the worst description because all plans of this government assume a successful liquidation of the reparations mess.

SOMETHING of a realignment is taking place in German politics. Von Neurath, the Ambassador to Great Britain, will probably be the head of the Foreign Ministry, a post hitherto held by Chancellor Brüning, and some other representatives of the Right will relieve the Democratic General Wilhelm Gröner as Minister of Defense. Gröner has been hitherto a staunch supporter of the Brüning-Hindenburg regime, who has fallen out of favor because he insisted on dissolving the Fascist Sturm Abteilungen, while refraining from doing the same with the Social Democratic Reichsbanner. The recent emergency decree, placing all semi-military political organizations under control of the Minister of Defense, was undoubtedly a concession to the Hitlerites. The Centrist party seized the chance to get something it has wanted for years, the suppression of the Communist "Society of Proletarian Free Thinkers." This is an extraordinary blow at freedom of thought and political action; but another such blow is hardly to be noticed in view of the general conditions in Germany today.

> Until the very day he was discovered by the First National Bank . . . Melvin Traylor was doing business daily with the men who produced in the year 1929 alone live stock products worth $8,553,000,000!
>
> *—Alvin H. Sanders in "An Open Letter to American Farmers and Business Men," urging Mr. Traylor for President.*

THAT'S nothing. We know a man who commutes every day in the trains of the $1,000,000,000 New York Central Railroad, and he isn't even running for dog-catcher.

The Third Stage of the Depression

AT LAST we have begun to enter the third stage of official attitude toward the depression.

The first stage was characterized by the opinion that government ought to do nothing except issue optimistic statements, and that private business, if it could be brought into the proper frame of mind, if it could be prevented from reducing prices or wages, would turn about and restore activity. The belief behind this attitude was that there was nothing really wrong about our economic structure except the psychological shock it had received from the collapse of stock speculation. A certain amount of relief would be necessary for the unemployed, but this could be provided through already existing agencies, and out of charitable and local funds.

The second stage was reached when those dependent on the income of invested capital began to be really frightened. Under the pressure of their fear, the dogma that government could and should do nothing gave way. It gave way grudgingly, however. It was still held that nothing should be done for the unemployed, and nothing should be done to restore employment, except through the regular channels of private business and finance. What was necessary was to bolster these. And we had to bolster these largely through agencies in-

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tended to have a psychological effect. Financiers were got together to prevent bank failures through the National Credit Corporation. When this puny infant failed to draw breath, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was created to use the governmental credit power in shoring up, not only banks, but railroads, insurance companies and other hard-hit financial institutions. Then the Glass-Steagall bill was passed to combat hoarding and fear for the gold reserve, and the Reserve banks began to buy quantities of government securities with the intention of creating larger credit resources so that private business might borrow and expand. Close on the heels of this followed the panic about the budget, the effort to increase taxes and reduce expenditures, in order to prevent that very inflation (or reflation) which the central banking policy was trying to stimulate. Inconsistent as this action was in fact, it was consistent with the dogma that anything positive must be done through business and not through government. To take care of labor we must, it was thought, take care of capital first.

So tardy and ineffective were these measures, however, that they were not completed before the third stage was entered. The bitter need of the unemployed could no longer be glossed over, and the long predicted breakdown of private charity and local relief could not be further averted. The arguments made and reiterated so long by Senators Wagner, La Follette and others began to be taken seriously. As Senator Costigan said:

> An affront to American intelligence and the American people will be committed if Congress adjourns without passing two legislative measures which are supplementary, not interchangeable. The first is federal aid to states and municipalities to bridge the present unemployment emergency and to provide the necessities of life for the stricken victims of an unprecedented depression. The second is substantial nationwide construction of needed public works giving direct and indirect employment to multitudes now idle in every part of America, thereby beginning the restoration of industrial activity and promoting farm and other relief through higher commodity prices stimulated by moderate and controlled credit expansion.

Though forced to admit the necessity of action of this sort, the administration and its Democratic supporters still cling to unsound and grudging methods which will, if they are embodied in the legislation, prevent effective action.

The President, with his usual side-stepping and dishonest way of thinking, wants to maintain the illusion that we have no "dole" and especially that we will grant no federal dole. Therefore he proposes that such cities as need assistance get loans from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which will maintain a saintly innocence regarding the fact that the loans are to be used for relief and will pretend that the measure will cost the federal taxpayers nothing because they are "loans," to be repaid. This is thoroughly vicious. Many of the cities which need money most are those which legally can borrow no more. Any loans made will add to debt burdens already so large that their charges cannot be met from the clumsy, inequitable and shrunken general property tax. It would be better to give the money outright, just as it would have been better to give the war loans to the Allies in 1918 and 1919—provided we wanted to make them. Furthermore it is only just to transfer part of the duty of supporting the unemployed from the overweighted shoulders of local taxpayers, most of whom have little responsibility for the way our economic system is run, to the federal income taxpayers, where it can be adjusted to ability to pay and can be distributed, as the profits of the industries where unemployment arises are distributed, nationally.

The stimulation of construction which the President consents to undertake, in turn, is to be confined to "self-liquidating" investments both private and public—that is, investments which, by charging a return for their services, can pay back the governmental loans and thus create no future burdens for taxpayers. This is no substitute in the emergency for a general and large program of public works. It is dubious whether enough such enterprises can be found to make any appreciable difference in employment and business activity. The subsidizing of private investment is likely to lead to favoritism, scandal and loss. Nearly all the arguments against the real public-works proposal are fallacious and are not based on knowledge of the facts.

It is said that there are not enough intrinsically valuable public works waiting to be done, and that the necessary plans and authorizations could not be prepared in time. This is untrue. Road programs and building programs, federal, state and local, especially state and local, are ready in large numbers and are being held up solely for lack of money.

It is said that the public-works remedy was tried in 1930 and did not succeed. This is a delusion created by dishonest administration publicity. The program was never really tried. The total of public construction in 1930 was no greater than normal —it was smaller than in many previous years. In 1931 a large reduction took place, and 1932 will see a terrific shrinkage.

It is said that we cannot stand the addition to the national-debt burden which a large public-works program would require. But in 1929 the public-debt burden was not unduly heavy. What has made it intolerable since is not the increase of debt but the shrinkage of business activity, incomes and prices. The aim of the construction program is to expand activity. In so far as it succeeds, it will, by lightening the burden of the debt which we already have, far overbalance any new charges which may be incurred.

It is said that the necessary bonds cannot be sold. That is ridiculous in view of the fact that every government issue is many times oversubscribed, and government bonds are, by any standard of com-

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parison, felt to be much safer than other forms of investment.

It is said that government issues will draw money from the capital markets which ought to be going into private business, and will thus hamper recovery. But capital is not now going into private business. It is not going in because there is so little demand for the products of private business concerns. If their markets grow and they begin to make profits, they will have no difficulty in finding the credit or investment wherewith to expand.

Expansion through government action is recommended by most of the leading economists in this country, by foreign economists like Keynes and Salter. The third stage of governmental attitude must be thoroughly developed. The steps must be boldly and firmly taken. When that is done, we shall have helped to break down the stupid and selfish resistance of the capitalist dogma to dealing directly with our disordered economy, and measures of more lasting benefit may be undertaken.

The Golden Ass

ON TUESDAY, May 10, the representatives of the great banks meeting at Basle discussed the depression. The gold standard, they agreed, had failed to maintain monetary stability, not because of any inferiority of gold to silver or any other conceivable standard, but because the economic policies of the nations would not permit any system of international exchange to work. Dr. L. J. A. Trip, president of the National Bank of Holland, attributed the abandonment of gold to such things as the war-debts burden, tariff walls and international trade restrictions. Currency stability and the gold standard could not be restored, he said, without a reasonable degree of freedom in the movement of goods and a solution of the war-debts problem.

Mr. Gates W. McGarrah, formerly chairman of the board of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York and now of the Bank for International Settlements, said over the radio, "If the position of international balances of payment is continuously to be upset by changes, if the flow of capital from one nation to another is to be stopped by obstacles which make the fulfilment of contracts impossible, if the existing short-sighted tendency toward economic nationalism is not arrested, then the international credit system cannot function properly, nor can prosperity return in America or elsewhere." There was agreement that banks could do little to alleviate the situation unless governments would act to remove the barriers to trade.

On Wednesday, May 11, President Hoover, who has such a regard for the gold standard that he declines to endorse anti-depression measures in the United States which he thinks might endanger it, and who continually shirks national responsibility for the depression by pointing to its international causes, issued a veto message killing the Democratic bill for reducing tariffs by international negotiation and agreement. He said, "There never has been a time in the history of the United States when tariff protection was more essential to the welfare of the American people than at present." He said (erroneously) "Prices have declined . . . to a far greater extent in other countries than in the United States." He declared that "one of our firm national policies has been that tariffs are solely a domestic question in protection of our own people."

President Hoover did point out that specific duties might be modified under the existing law by as much as 50 percent up or down, but this modification, as he also said, is by law confined within "the definite principle of preference of the home market for American industry" and is supposed to be based "upon the difference in cost of production at home and abroad, plus transportation to the principal markets." The duty is thus intended to deprive any foreign competitor of any chance to sell in this country. Mr. Hoover promised, too, to call an international conference to remove barriers to international trade at any time circumstances might be favorable, if that could be done "without sacrificing American interests or departing from the historic policies followed by our country"—in other words, without removing barriers to trade.

The most obvious comment to make is that the bankers are right and the President wrong. It is true that the international gold standard will not work as long as we try to collect debts abroad, or by new investment create more debts, without reducing our tariff sufficiently to accept the goods which are the only possible substitute for gold in paying these debts. Certainly we cannot sell abroad until the way for payment is open. Here as elsewhere we firmly adopt two contradictory policies. The President cannot aid the gold standard which he loves so dearly, or do anything to help the revival of Europe for which he is waiting, by vetoing tariff-reduction bills and ignoring pleas, such as the eloquent and discerning one issued by the Railroad Brotherhoods, for virtual debt cancellation.

But we fear that the bankers as well as the President, in spite of their correct logic, are pursuing an unfruitful policy. It will, in all likelihood, be impossible to go back to anything like a stable international capitalism in which trade in goods, money and capital is free. If we are to have real economic internationalism, it must be built not on laissez-faire, but on social control. And that in turn demands that we really control affairs nationally—and within every nation. The President's deepest inconsistency is that, while he lays his bets on economic nationalism in respect of tariffs, he does not follow through. He interferes with free enterprise in the interest of certain manufacturers, but still assumes that free enterprise within the nation will work satisfactorily. He upholds an inept and bung-

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ling type of political interference with economic processes—one which, alone, can only help to impoverish us and all the rest of the world—but declines to sanction genuine organization of the nation's economic life for the equal benefit of all its inhabitants.

The Packers vs the Government

RECALCITRANCY to law has been a dominant characteristic of the packers for more than a generation. Efforts to confine their greed and curb their aggressions began in Roosevelt's administration, and the latest chapter in the long story has just been written by Mr. Justice Cardozo on behalf of the majority of the Supreme Court. Investigations by congressional committees, reports of the Commissioner of Corporations and of the Federal Trade Commission, presidential messages, enforcement of old laws and the enactment of new ones, administrative control, prosecutions, court decrees, decisions by the lower courts and half a dozen decisions by the Supreme Court—all the resources open to government have at one time or another been employed in the thirty years' war of the United States against the packers. Monopoly for private profit in meat and other foods has been the stake for which the packers fought.

Early in his first administration, Roosevelt moved against the beef trust. Dissolution of the Standard Oil, the tobacco and the beef trusts was the chief objective of Roosevelt's trust-busting. All three had attained their "evil eminence" by the crude and ruthless methods of the pioneer days of big business. The refinements of pyramiding and affiliates were not yet in vogue. Suppression of competition both in the purchase of livestock and in the sale of dressed meat, control of stockyards and terminal railroads, the indispensable instrumentalities for such a combination, unduly favorable traffic arrangements with carriers—by such methods was a monopolistic position in the industry largely attained and a challenge to its power by any foolish individualism successfully resisted. A suit for the dissolution of the combine was instituted by Roosevelt's Attorney General, and criminal prosecutions for rebating were brought. The practical results of these proceedings were meager. Soon the World War intervened, and a steady flow of meat shipments abroad seemed much more important than a little thing like aggrandized economic power in the hands of a few, whatever might be its future effect upon livestock breeders, independent dealers and the American consumer. These were matters to which one could turn when peace came, and turn to them the government did. In the meantime its resources against the power of combination had been strengthened by the Clayton Act of 1914.

And so, in 1920, the government took action to dissolve the packers' combination. The charge was monopoly achieved by means thus summarized in Justice Cardozo's opinion:

> They had attained this evil eminence through agreements apportioning the percentages of livestock to which the members of the combinations were severally entitled; through the acquisition and control of stockyards and stockyard terminal railroads; through the purchase of trade papers and journals whereby cattle raisers were deprived of accurate and unbiased reports of the demand for livestock; and through other devices directed to unified control.
>
> Having eliminated competition in the meat products, the defendants next took cognizance of the competition which might be expected from what was characterized as "substitute foods." To that end, so it was charged, they had set about controlling the supply of "fish, vegetables, either fresh or canned, fruits, cereals, milk, poultry, butter, eggs, cheese and other substitute foods ordinarily handled by wholesale grocers or produce dealers." Through their ownership of refrigerator cars and branch houses as well as other facilities, they were in a position to distribute "substitute foods and other unrelated commodities" with substantially no increase of overhead.
>
> Whenever these advantages were inadequate, they had recourse to the expedient of fixing prices so low over temporary periods of time as to eliminate competition by rivals less favorably situated. Through these and other devices there came about in the view of the government an unlawful monopoly of a large part of the food supply of the nation.

Although asserting "their innocence of any violation of law in fact or intent," but "desiring to avoid every appearance of placing themselves in a position of antagonism to the government," the patriotic packers consented to an injunction subjecting them to restraints which were justified only if the government's charges were true. What the lawyers call a consent decree was entered, sugar-coated by the phrase that such decree shall not "be considered an adjudication that the defendants or any of them have in fact violated any law of the United States." The diplomats have a name for such a formula: they call it face-saving. By this device an especially offensive combination was dismembered. But more was necessary. Remedies to be effective must forestall their circumvention. The past performances of the packers demanded not only dismemberment of the combination but safeguards against future oppressive tactics by the powerful component units. They were therefore enjoined "from (1) holding any interest in public stockyard companies, stockyard terminal railroads or market newspapers, (2) engaging in, or holding any interest in, the business of manufacturing, selling or transporting any of the 114 enumerated food products (principally fish, vegetables, fruit and groceries), and 30 other articles, unrelated to the meat-packing industry; (3) using or permitting others to use their distributive facilities for the handling of any of these enumerated articles, (4) selling meat at retail, (5) holding any interest in

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any public cold-storage plant, and (6) selling fresh milk or cream."

The desire of the packers "to avoid every appearance of placing themselves in a position of antagonism to the government" was not long lived. To forgo money-making opportunities in the piping days of Harding normalcy was too quixotic. And so, in 1922, the packers began a series of efforts to get from under the decree to which they had consented. First, they used the California Canneries as their cat's-paw. The Canneries asked to have the decree set aside, claiming that it interfered with performance by Armour of a contract to buy large quantities of California canned fruit. After the Coolidge election, with big business triumphantly in the saddle, the packers launched a direct attack on the consent decree. The decree to which they consented was beyond the court's jurisdiction, insisted the packers. But this was too bald an attempt to make an ass of the law, and in March, 1928, was unanimously rejected by the Supreme Court. In the meantime, however, at the instance of the California Canneries, the operation of the 1920 decree was suspended by the courts of the District of Columbia and not until May, 1929, did the Supreme Court remove the obstacles to its obedience by the packers.

But packers are greedy and lawyers imaginative. Confronted at last with the apparent necessity of obeying restraints, nine years after they so unctuously consented to them, Swift and Armour in April, 1930, sought to modify the consent decree "and to adapt its restraints to the needs of a new day."

The lower court modified the decree and gave the packers permission to deal at wholesale in groceries and other commodities. This decision the Supreme Court has just reversed. A majority of the Court refused to undo the consent decree and held the packers to the restraints to which they assented in 1920. Three of the judges were disqualified—the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Sutherland had been of counsel for the packers in the earlier stages of the litigation, Mr. Justice Stone was Attorney General during a prior phase of the case. Mr. Justice Butler, with the concurrence of Mr. Justice Van Devanter, dissented, welcoming the packers as competitors against wholesale grocers. Reading his opinion, one would suppose that the packers had no history.

Mr. Justice Cardozo placed the new desire of the packers in the perspective of their past conduct:

> Size and past aggressions induced the fear in 1920 that the defendants, if permitted to deal in groceries, would drive their rivals to the wall. Size and past aggressions leave the fear unmoved today. Changes there have been that reduce the likelihood of a monopoly in the business of the sale of meats, but none that bear significantly upon the old-time abuses in the sale of other foods. The question is not whether a modification as to groceries can be made without prejudice to the interests of producers of cattle on the hoof. The question is whether it can be made without prejudice to the interests of the classes whom this particular restraint was intended to protect.

Nor has the rise of chain stores affected the coercive power of the packers. These stores increase rather than curtail the dangers of monopolistic control. Reminding that "size carries with it an opportunity for abuse that is not to be ignored when the opportunity is proved to have been utilized in the past," the Court thus keeps the packers within the bounds dictated by experience:

> The defendants, the largest packers in the country, will thus hold a post of vantage, as compared with other wholesale grocers, in their dealings with the chains. They will hold a post of vantage in their dealings with others outside the chains. When they add groceries to meats, they will do so, they assure us, with substantially no increase of the existing overhead. Thus in the race of competition they will be able by their own admission to have a handicap on rivals overweighted at the start. The opportunity will be theirs to renew the war of extermination that they waged in years gone by.
>
> Sporadic instances of unfair practices even in the meat business are stated in the findings to have occurred since the monopoly was broken, practices as to which the defendants' officers disclaim responsibility when a business is so huge. They become less plausible when the size of the business is moderate. Responsibility is then centered in a few.

Here is a Supreme Court opinion that deals with economic issues in terms of economic realities. Central control, plus savings in overhead and ability to reduce prices, would be desirable if exercised *in the public interest*. But the whole story of the efforts to curb the packers sheds a searchlight on the anarchic character of our acquisitive society. For our food, we are largely dependent on the wise pursuit of the money motive by very few men. How naïve of us to expect it of them! In the case of the packers, the Supreme Court for a generation has been alert to the public interest. But adequate regulation of such a basic industry through intermittent law suits is to ask of courts what they cannot give.

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Kreuger

Another Holding Company Debacle

WHEREVER the story of Ivar Kreuger and his superb and masterful rascality is told—with a little awe and something akin to admiration—it will be the tale of the substituted debentures and forged concessions which will fill the foreground of the story. But these are merely incidents. They are after-bits of crooked strategy which the bewildered juggler found it possible and convenient to adopt to keep his impossible trick going a little longer. The important thing—and this we may be sure will be overlooked—is the financial device, the complicated collection of corporate implements, the initially dishonest financial structure held together by its inevitable holding company, which made possible all the things which Kreuger did.

We have had a string of disasters like this one—some of them arriving at their dénouement through a devastating stroke of larceny like Kreuger's, some of them through the continuous attrition of endless exploitation like the Insull companies. But in all of them, the final crash has resulted primarily from the crazy form of organization which permits a few men to hide their operations under a tangle of corporations behind which no system of accounting, no form of regulation, no kind of scrutiny can penetrate.

All over the world—in forty-three countries—are some two hundred and fifty match factories working away in the perfectly legitimate business of making matches. There are also iron mines and coal mines, banks in France and Holland and Sweden and Germany, paper mills and power plants and telephone plants and forests and chemical plants. All these are engaged in the business of producing materials which the world needs. They employ some fifty or sixty thousand men. There is no reason in the world why they should be united in organization. There is actually no union or tie between them. But the ownership of these countless industries is seized upon by a group of clever gentlemen, who have not the slightest interest in their primary and essential functions and is made the basis of a vast game of stock and money manipulation which enriches these gentlemen for a time, then almost ruins them and brings losses amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars to the investors who were fooled into trusting them.

The two hundred and fifty match factories throughout the world are held at least in ostensible ownership by a corporation organized under the beneficent laws of Delaware and called the International Match Company. The money for this purpose is supplied mainly by investors who buy bonds and non-voting stock. The actual ownership and control is in the hands of the concern that owns the Class A stock. This stock is owned by the Swedish Match Company and the Swedish Match Company is controlled by the Kreuger and Toll Company of Sweden.

It gets a bit more complicated if you examine it more closely. Thus, here in America, we have several large match-making corporations. One is the Federal Match Company. Its stock is owned by a Swedish corporation called the Vulcan Match Company. That is in turn controlled by an American company—the International Match Company. Once again control crosses the sea to the Swedish Match Company, which is finally owned by Kreuger and Toll.

In a little while Mr. Kreuger might have succeeded in creating a monopoly in America. For it has now come to light that the 350,000 shares of Diamond Match Company common stock (a controlling interest), delivered mysteriously a year ago to four large American banks, were in reality held by them for the Kreuger interests.

Among all these numerous corporations, funds and securities were handed back and forth, dividends and interest payments to stockholders and bondholders of one company coming to them in checks of another, so that no one knew very clearly what was going on and, apparently, no one cared. The simple and obvious fact that men do not construct impenetrable entanglements like this where their purposes are wholly proper seems to have little or no weight, though we are now slowly finding out this ancient truth.

All the money taken by all the publicly labeled scoundrels who peddle blue-sky securities and on whom the Better Business Bureaus wage continual warfare is but a drop in the bucket to the billions of dollars which have been lost to American investors and banks through the operations of the very respectable financiers who have been building the holding-company schemes which have been collapsing, or at least tottering, in the last two or three years. Insull and Kreuger alone will account for a loss of half a billion, but there have been numerous others—several railroads, many smaller utility tangles, many investment and finance companies and no end of banks like the Bank of United States in New York City—all of them receiving their last fatal death blows from the weakness bred in them in the very moments of organization.

Kreuger, of course, turned out to be one of the greatest of international crooks. But please let us not forget this fact, for the benefit of those who are

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always talking about government interference in business. Kreuger, left to his own natural talents and devices, might have succeeded in swindling a few people out of a million or two. He was able to swindle thousands of stockholders and bondholders in America out of several hundred millions because the government has interfered in business and has implemented business—and of course Mr. Kreuger—with this vicious device, the holding company, which makes it possible not merely for Kreuger, but for scores of other adventurers to wreck the investments of millions of people. The law should take this implement out of their hands.

Here are some pregnant sentences from cables to The New York Times following the Kreuger debacle:

> Berlin: Germany is among the countries which would be least affected by the troubles of the Kreuger concern.
>
> London: British interests in Kreuger and Toll are understood to be merely a minority shareholding in the prosperous British Match Corporation, Ltd., which is not involved in the investigation.
>
> Paris: Kreuger and Toll interests in France are not very important.

Not so in America. Here a prodigious volume of loose and foolish millions has been running wild under the guidance of our new supermen—those amazing wizards of finance who used to tell us to rely upon their boundless sapience. Mr. Kreuger, who had got his education in business here, beheld our golden flood and its mighty guardians. For his reckless adventures, therefore, he came to America for funds. Here is what he got and the securities on which he obtained the money:

Kreuger and Toll 5's, 1959	$48,000,000
American Certificates	60,000,000
Common Stock (A and B)	7,500,000
International Match 5's, 1941	50,000,000
International Match 5's, 1947	48,000,000
International Match Preferred	17,500,000
Grangesburg Iron Company, Ericsson Telephone Company, Skandinaviska Kredit A. B., Stockholms Intecknings Garanti A.B.	15,000,000
Total	$246,000,000

Today all that mess of securities, held by some 32,000 American investors, is worth less than $10,000,000.

Here is a little episode which has become a bit snarled in the flood of news, but which is quite simple.

Mr. Kreuger, as may be supposed, was forever in need of funds. In the end the need became desperate. He required an immediate loan and went to the Riksbank for it. He proposed to give as security his share in the Boliden gold mine, supposedly one of the richest in the world. But he no longer had these shares. He had made a loan from the Skandinaviska Credit Bank and pledged them as collateral. The International Match Company in America held $50,000,000 in German bonds. Kreuger wanted them. He therefore cabled the International Match Company to send the German bonds to the Skandinaviska Credit Bank. It complied. In their place Kreuger sent a lot of Italian credit bills and alleged foreign-match-monopoly concessions. Kreuger then got his Boliden shares released by the Skandinaviska Credit Bank, which now had the German bonds instead.

He then took his Boliden shares to the Riksbank and got his loan—40,000,000 kroner.

But what of the International Match Company which got the foreign treasury bills and concessions? These consisted of an alleged Polish match concession and three others, from unknown countries, but designated in the portfolio of the International Match Company as countries X, Y and Z. They were valued as follows:

Concession of X country	$28,979,596
Concession of Y country	27,830,600
Concession of Z country	9,500,000
Total	$66,310,196

We are now told by the American banker, Mr. Durant of Lee, Higginson, who sold Americans bonds worth millions and who was supposed to check up on such matters, that they were monopoly concessions from Italy, Spain and the Diamond Match Company. They were forgeries, but apparently useless forgeries, because the astute Mr. Durant did not even ask to see them. One of these directors on the witness stand almost wept at Kreuger's demonstration in deception and his own misadventure in misplaced confidence. But what about the bondholders and stockholders who placed confidence in this director and all the other directors, who supposed they were directing and guarding the assets of the International Match Company and who have now lost perhaps $250,000,000 through that misplaced confidence? What about the bankers who, in cold print, sold bonds with an assurance that they had fully examined all the affairs of the Kreuger interests, and who had not checked them, who had taken Kreuger's unsupported word, who were even content with such tragic nonsense as his X, Y, Z countries and who permitted the juggling of cash, checks, securities, concessions to go on between banks, subsidiaries and holding companies with apparently no scrutiny and no curiosity?

One naturally asks what the directors of the International Match Company were doing all this time. This is a Delaware corporation. The majority of its directors are American. It is financed by American money. It is supposed to be watched over by the great banking firm of Lee, Higginson and Company, which has sold several hundred million dollars of Kreuger securities to the trusting American people. What were these directors and bankers doing?

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Well, as for the directors, they are, save for one or two Swedish gentlemen, American business men of almost overpowering intelligence, the kind that "have made America what she is today" and I hope they're satisfied. But one wonders during what odd moments they were directing the International Match Company. Most of them are directors in so many corporations that it is difficult to understand how even such mighty fellows could really spare the time for even a few of them. Here they are, with the number of corporations of which each is a director:

Percy A. Rockefeller	51
S. F. Pryor	41
F. W. Allen	21
H. O. Havemeyer	17
John McHugh	17
F. L. Higginson	13
Donald Durant	8
A. H. Larkin	8
B. Tomlinson	5

Mr. Rockefeller, for instance, when not directing these various fifty-one corporations, devotes a good deal of time to operating in Wall Street, playing bear, and we know how that uses up one's mental energies. What are these fellows doing on this International Match board, and on all those others, for that matter? They are in reality making a thoroughgoing comedy out of American business. How will they explain—and how will the president of the International Match Company, Mr. Durant, explain—how Kreuger could remove $50,000,000 worth of securities from their vaults on a simple request and substitute a handful of junk without their knowing it? Mr. Durant has testified that he accepted these alleged concessions from three countries without knowing what countries they were and without any scrap of evidence that they really existed.

American bondholders and stockholders were entitled to interest and dividends. Once the Vulcan Match Company, a subsidiary of the International Match Company, required $325,000 for dividends. The money was sent to the Vulcan from the Norden Export Corporation, another Kreuger concern, having no immediate corporate connection with the Vulcan.

In Amsterdam was a fictitious corporation called the Granata Company. In the remote Duchy of Lichtenstein was still another corporate ghost, the Continental Investment Company. The International Match Company got money for its essential earnings from these two corporations in varying sums, charging them interest on some sort of nebulous claims, up to as much as 24 percent—whatever was necessary to produce the required interest. But, oddly, the checks for these sums always came, not from the Granata or the Continental, but from Kreuger and Toll in Stockholm, or from Kreuger

Now Kreuger was not personally around actually doing these things. He merely gave orders. But the International Match Company had a president. It had officials. It had directors.

This is only part of the story. A syndicate of American bankers headed by Lee, Higginson and Company, in September, 1928, sold in America $60,000,000 of American participating certificates in Kreuger and Toll Company. These certificates were secured by the deposit of a group of foreign securities. Here are the securities:

Jugoslavia 6¼'s, 1958	$7,000,000
Latvia 6's, 1964	6,000,000
Poland 7's, 1945	5,100,000
Ecuador 8's, 1953	1,986,900
Ecuador Mortgage Bank Gtd. 7's, 1949	1,000,000
Greece 8½'s, 1954	4,768,693
Rumania 7's, 1959	2,000,000
Rumania 4's, 1968	1,852,628
France 3's and 4's (Fcs. 344,000,000)	13,477,576
Belgian National Railway Pfd. (Fcs. 80,000,000)	2,224,460
Prussian Mortgage Bank Gold 8's (RM 12,000,000)	2,858,400
Hungarian Land Reform Mortgage 5½'s, 1979	12,000,000

They had at the time of deposit a market value well in excess of $60,000,000. The indenture under which these securities were deposited for the "protection" of the American investors provided that they might be withdrawn and others substituted in their place. Certain requirements as to substituted securities were set out, but these requirements were of course thoroughly full of holes. And so when Mr. Kreuger needed the securities deposited, as, for instance, he needed the German bonds, he merely withdrew them and substituted others. Here's what he substituted:

Ecuador Mortgage Bank 7's, 1949	$922,529
Ecuador 8's, 1953	1,879,289
Jugoslavia 6¼'s, 1958	22,000,000
Latvia 6's, 1964	6,000,000
Hungarian Coöperative Society 5½'s, 1979	23,848,753
Rumania 7½'s, 1971	2,944,000
German 5½'s, 1965	11,000
Rumania 4's, 1968	1,439,000

The last three items on this list have some market. The remainder are utterly without market value now.

The important thing to remember about this is that Kreuger, in making this substitution, acted wholly within the terms of the indenture, even though some of the substituted bonds were in default, and others were affected by the moratorium. The American bankers who, in another transaction already described, didn't know that $50,000,000 of good German bonds had been taken from the International Match Company and had been replaced by three fake concessions, also collaborated with Kreuger in putting over on American investors American certificates secured by the defective indenture referred to, managed to soft-pedal that defective feature and later permitted Kreuger, apparently without protest, to substitute practically worthless bonds in the pledged deposit.

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with them in the handling of Kreuger's affairs in this country who now seek to take charge of the job of salvaging the wreck, just as Mr. Insull, in a friendly receivership, dominates the rescue of the utility which foundered under him.

Who bought the American certificates which Lee, Higginson and Company sold? On the directorate of the International Match Company are two directors of the Chase National Bank, one of them chairman of the Executive Committee of that bank. It would be interesting to know how many depositors of the Chase National bought Kreuger and Toll American certificates on the recommendation of the Chase bank.

To sum the matter up: we have in this unsavory mess one more beautiful example of our crowning American financial vices—holding-company abuses, directors who do not direct, worthless securities bought by trusting investors on the faith of so-called "big" bankers, "friendly receiverships" which result when the crash comes and the secrecy which cloaks big business and behind which all these costly practices are carried on. These things constitute one of the major issues in the country now—I think the major issue. Would it not be interesting to know what some of our candidates for President have in mind about such things?

JOHN T. FLYNN.

Education—For What?

II: *Indoctrination and a Workable Democracy*

IF WE MAY assume that the child will be imposed upon in some fashion by the various elements in his environment, the real question is not whether imposition will take place, but rather from what source it will come. If we were to answer this question in terms of the past, there could, I think, be but one answer: on all genuinely crucial matters the school follows the wishes of the groups or classes that actually rule society; on minor matters the school is sometimes allowed a certain measure of freedom. But the future may be unlike the past. Or perhaps I should say that teachers, if they could increase sufficiently their stock of courage, intelligence and vision, might become a social force of some magnitude.

That the teachers should deliberately reach for power and then make the most of their conquest is my firm conviction. To the extent that they are permitted to fashion the curriculum and the procedures of the school, they will definitely and positively influence the social attitudes, ideals and behavior of the coming generation. In doing this they should resort to no subterfuge or false modesty. They should say neither that they are merely teaching the truth nor that they are unwilling to wield power in their own right. The first position is false and the second is a confession of incompetence.

Representing as they do, not the interests of the moment or of any special class, but rather the common and abiding interests of the people, teachers are under heavy social obligation to protect and further those interests. In this they occupy a relatively unique position in society. Also, since the profession should embrace scientists and scholars of the highest rank, as well as teachers working at all levels of the educational system, it has at its disposal, as no other group, the knowledge and wisdom of the ages. It is scarcely thinkable that these men and women would ever act as selfishly or bungle as badly as have the so-called "practical" men of our generation—the politicians, the financiers, the industrialists. If all of these facts are taken into account, instead of shunning power, the profession should rather seek power and then strive to use that power fully and wisely and in the interests of the great masses of the people.

This brings us to the question of the kind of imposition in which teachers should engage, if they had the power. Our obligations, I think, grow out of the social situation. We live in troublous times; we live in an age of profound change; we live in an age of revolution. Indeed, it is highly doubtful whether man ever lived in a more eventful period than the present. In order to match our epoch we would probably have to go back to the fall of the ancient empires or even to that unrecorded age when men first abandoned the natural arts of hunting and fishing and trapping and began to experiment with agriculture and the settled life. Today we are witnessing the rise of a civilization quite without precedent in human history—a civilization founded on science, technology and machinery, possessing the most extraordinary power, and rapidly making of the entire world a single great society.

In this new world that is forming, one set of issues is peculiarly fundamental and is certain to be the center of bitter and prolonged struggle. I refer to those issues which may be styled economic. Our generation has the good or the ill fortune to live in an age when great decisions must be made. The American people, like most of the other peoples of the earth, have come to the parting of the ways; they can no longer trust entirely the inspiration which came to them when the Republic was young; they must decide afresh what they are to do with their talents. Favored above

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all other nations with the resources of nature and the material instrumentalities of civilization, they stand confused and irresolute before the future. They seem to lack the moral quality necessary to quicken, discipline and give direction to their matchless energies. In a recent paper Professor Dewey has, in my judgment, correctly diagnosed our troubles: "the schools, like the nation," he says, "are in need of a central purpose which will create new enthusiasm and devotion, and which will unify and guide all intellectual plans."

This suggests, as we have already observed, that the educational problem is not wholly intellectual in nature. Our progressive schools therefore cannot rest content with giving children an opportunity to study contemporary society in all of its aspects. This of course must be done, but I am convinced that they should go much farther. If the schools are to be really effective, they must become centers for the building, and not merely for the contemplation, of our civilization. This does not mean that we should endeavor to promote particular reforms through the educational system. We should, however, give to our children a vision of the possibilities which lie ahead and endeavor to enlist their loyalties and enthusiasms in the realization of the vision. Also our social institutions and practices, all of them, should be critically examined in the light of such a vision.

II

The ideal foundations on which we must build are easily discernible. Until recently the very word America has been synonymous throughout the world with democracy and symbolic to the oppressed classes of all lands of hope and opportunity. Child of the revolutionary ideas and impulses of the eighteenth century, the American nation became the embodiment of bold social experimentation and a champion of the power of environment to develop the capacities and redeem the souls of common men and women. And as her stature grew, her lengthening shadow reached to the four corners of the earth and everywhere impelled the human will to rebel against ancient wrongs. Here undoubtedly is the finest jewel in our heritage and the thing that is most worthy of preservation.

It is becoming increasingly clear, however, that this tradition, if its spirit is to survive, will have to be reconstituted in the light of the great social trends of the age in which we live. Our democratic heritage was largely a product of the frontier, free land and a simple agrarian order. Today a new and strange and closely integrated industrial economy is rapidly sweeping over the world. Although some of us in our more sentimental moments talk wistfully of retiring into the more tranquil society of the past, we could scarcely induce many of our fellow citizens to accompany us. Even the most hostile critics of industrialism would like to take with them in their retirement a few such fruits of the machine as electricity, telephones, automobiles, modern plumbing, and various labor-saving devices, or at least be assured of an abundant supply of slaves or docile and inexpensive servants. But all such talk is the most idle chatter. For better or for worse, we must take industrial civilization as an enduring fact: already we have become parasitic on its institutions and products. The hands of the clock cannot be turned back.

If we accept industrialism, as we must, we are then compelled to face without equivocation the most profound issue which this new order of society has raised and settle that issue in terms of the genius of our people—the issue of the control of the machine. In whose interests and for what purposes are the vast material riches, the unrivaled industrial equipment, and the science and technology of the nation to be used? In the light of our democratic tradition there can be but one answer to the question: all of these resources must be dedicated to the promotion of the welfare of the great masses of the people.

Even the classes in our society that perpetually violate this principle are compelled by the force of public opinion to pay lip-service to it and to defend their actions in its terms. No body of men, however powerful, would dare openly to flout it. Since the opening of the century the great corporations have even found it necessary to establish publicity departments or to employ extremely able men as public-relations counselors in order to persuade the populace that regardless of appearances they are lovers of democracy and devoted servants of the people. In this they have been remarkably successful, at least until the coming of the great depression. For during the past generation there have been few things in America that could not be bought at a price.

If the benefits of industrialism are to accrue fully to the people, this deception must be exposed. If the machine is to serve all, and serve all equally, it cannot be the property of the few. To ask these few to have regard for the common weal, particularly when under the competitive system they are forced always to think first of themselves or perish, is to put too great a strain on human nature. With the present concentration of economic power in the hands of a small class, a condition that is likely to get worse before it gets better, the survival or development of a society that could in any sense be called democratic is unthinkable.

The hypocrisy which is so characteristic of our public life today is due primarily to our failure to acknowledge the fairly obvious fact that America is the scene of an irreconcilable conflict between two opposing forces. On the one side is the democratic tradition inherited from the past; on the other is a system of economic arrangements which increasingly partakes of the nature of industrial feudalism. Both of these forces cannot survive: one or the other must give way. Unless the democratic tradition is able to organize and conduct a successful

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attack on the economic system, its complete destruction is inevitable.

If democracy is to survive, it must seek a new economic foundation. Our traditional democracy rested upon small-scale production in both agriculture and industry and a rather general diffusion of the rights of property in capital and natural resources. The driving force at the root of this condition, as we have seen, was the frontier and free land. With the closing of the frontier, the exhaustion of free land, the growth of population and the coming of large-scale production, the basis of ownership was transformed. If property rights are to be diffused in industrial society, natural resources and all important forms of capital will have to be collectively owned. Obviously every citizen cannot hold title to a mine, a factory, a railroad, a department store or even a thoroughly mechanized farm.

This clearly means that, if democracy is to survive in the United States, it must abandon its individualistic affiliations in the sphere of economics. What precise form a democratic society will take in the age of science and the machine, we cannot know with any assurance today. We must, however, insist on two things: first, that technology be released from the fetters and the domination of every type of special privilege; and second, that the resulting system of production and distribution be made to serve directly the masses of the people. Within these limits, as I see it, our democratic tradition must of necessity evolve and gradually assume an essentially collectivistic pattern. The only conceivable alternative is the abandonment of the last vestige of democracy and the frank adoption of some modern form of feudalism.

III

The important point is that fundamental changes in the economic system are imperative. Whatever services historic capitalism may have rendered in the past, and they have been many, its days are numbered. With its deification of the principle of selfishness, its exaltation of the profit motive, its reliance upon the forces of competition and its placing of property above human rights, it will either have to be displaced altogether or changed so radically in form and spirit that its identity will be completely lost. In view of the fact that the urge for private gain tends to debase everything that it touches, whether business, recreation, religion, art or friendship, the indictment against capitalism has commonly been made on moral grounds. But today the indictment can be drawn in other terms.

Capitalism is proving itself weak at the very point where its champions have thought it impregnable. It is failing to meet the pragmatic test; it no longer works; it is unable even to organize and maintain production. In its present form capitalism is not only cruel and inhuman; it is also wasteful and inefficient. It has exploited our natural resources without the slightest regard for the future needs of our society; it has forced technology to serve the interests of the few rather than the many; it has chained the engineer to the vagaries and inequities of the price system; it has plunged the great nations of the earth into a succession of wars ever more devastating and catastrophic in character; and only recently it has brought on a world crisis of such dimensions that the entire economic order is paralyzed and millions of men in all the great industrial countries are deprived of the means of livelihood. The growth of science and technology has carried us into a new age where ignorance must be replaced by knowledge, competition by coöperation, trust in providence by careful planning, and private capitalism by some form of socialized economy.

The objection is of course raised at once that a planned, coördinated and socialized economy, managed in the interests of the people, would involve severe restrictions on personal freedom. Undoubtedly in such an economy the individual would not be permitted to do many things that he has customarily done in the past. He would not be permitted to carve a fortune out of the natural resources of the nation, to organize a business purely for the purpose of making money, to build a new factory or railroad whenever and wherever he pleased, to throw the economic system out of gear for the protection of his own private interests, to amass or to attempt to amass great riches by the corruption of the political life, the control of the organs of opinion, the manipulation of the financial machinery, the purchase of brains and knowledge, or the exploitation of ignorance, frailty and misfortune.

In exchange for such privileges as these, which only the few could ever enjoy, we would obtain the complete and uninterrupted functioning of the productive system and thus lay the foundations for a measure of freedom for the many that mankind has never known in the past. Freedom without a secure economic foundation is only a word: in our society it may be freedom to beg, steal or starve. Today only the members of the plutocracy are really free, and even in their case freedom is rather precarious. If all of us could be assured of material security and abundance, we would be released from economic worries and our energies would be liberated to grapple with the central problems of cultural advance.

Under existing conditions, however, no champion of the democratic way of life can view the future with equanimity. If democracy is to be achieved in the industrial age, powerful classes must be persuaded to surrender their privileges, and institutions deeply rooted in popular prejudice will have to be radically modified or abolished. And according to the historical record, this process has commonly been attended by bitter struggle and even bloodshed. Ruling classes never surrender their privileges voluntarily. Rather do they cling to what they have been accustomed to regard as their rights,

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even though the heavens fall. When property is threatened, constitutional guarantees are but scraps of paper and even the courts and the churches, with occasional exceptions, rush to the support of privilege and vested interest.

This is a dark picture. If we look at the future through the eyes of the past, we find little reason for optimism. If there is to be no break in our tradition of violence, if a bold and realistic program of education is not forthcoming, we can only anticipate a struggle of increasing bitterness terminating in revolution and disaster. And yet, as regards the question of property, the present situation has no historical parallel. In earlier paragraphs I have pointed to the possibility of completely disposing of the economic problem. For the first time in history we are able to produce all the goods and services that our people can consume. The justification, or at least the rational basis, of the age-long struggle for property has been removed. This situation gives to teachers an opportunity and a responsibility unique in the annals of education.

In an economy of scarcity, where the population always tends to outstrip the food supply, any attempt to change radically the rules of the game must inevitably lead to trial by the sword. But in an economy of plenty, which the growth of technology has made entirely possible, the conditions are fundamentally altered. It is natural and understandable for men to fight when there is scarcity, whether it be over air, water, food or women. For them to fight over the material goods of life in America today is sheer insanity. Through the courageous and intelligent reconstruction of their economic institutions they could all obtain, not only physical security, but also the luxuries of life and as much leisure as men could ever learn to enjoy. For those who take delight in combat, ample provision for strife could of course be made; but the more cruel aspects of the human struggle would be considerably softened.

Such a vision of what America might become in the industrial age I would introduce into our schools as the supreme imposition, but one to which our children are entitled—a priceless legacy which it should be the first concern of our profession to fashion and bequeath. The objection will of course be raised that this is asking teachers to assume unprecedented social responsibilities. But we live in difficult and dangerous times—times when precedents lose their significance. If we are content to remain where all is safe and quiet and serene, we shall dedicate ourselves, as teachers have commonly done in the past, to a role of futility, if not of positive social reaction. Neutrality with respect to the great issues that agitate society, while perhaps theoretically possible, is practically tantamount to giving support to the forces of conservatism. As Justice Holmes has candidly said in his essay on Natural Law, "we all, whether we know it or not, are fighting to make the kind of world that we should like." If neutrality is impossible even in the dispensation of justice, whose emblem is the blindfolded goddess, how is it to be achieved in education? To ask the question is to answer it.

To refuse to face the task of creating a vision of a future America immeasurably more just and noble and beautiful than the America of today is to evade the most crucial, difficult and important educational task. Until we have assumed this responsibility, we are scarcely justified in opposing and mocking the efforts of so-called patriotic societies to introduce into the schools a tradition which, though narrow and unenlightened, nevertheless represents an honest attempt to meet a profound social and educational need. Only when we have fashioned a finer and more authentic vision than they will we be fully justified in our opposition to their efforts. Only then will we have discharged the age-long obligation which the older generation owes to the younger and which no amount of sophistry can obscure. Only through such a legacy of spiritual values will our children be enabled to find their place in the world, be lifted out of the present morass of moral indifference, be liberated from the senseless struggle for material success, and be challenged to high endeavor and achievement. And only thus will we as a people put ourselves on the road to the expression of our peculiar genius and to the making of our special contribution to the cultural heritage of the race.

GEORGE S. COUNTS.

This is the second of two articles by Dr. Counts. The first appeared in last week's issue.—THE EDITORS.

I, Young and Melancholy

Moping alone
I, young and melancholy,
Give to you wholly
What for long time must be my own.

This sapling love
Which you by chance have planted
In me, unwanted,
Shall never wander or remove

Out of my grief;
Thence it shall thrust and nourish
Till it is flourished
With steadfast power of limb and leaf.

Stray as you will
Through time and into distance
It with insistence,
Unmoved, shall follow you until,

Being full-grown,
It touch you into its tether,
And we together
Under my shade and banner of love lie down.

SYLVIA TOWNSEND WARNER.

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An Open Letter to Dr. Inazo Nitobé

DEAR Dr. Nitobé: The New York papers of May 7 print an interview in which you uphold in the most sweeping terms the recent acts of Japan in Manchuria and Shanghai. This morning I read another statement, appearing over your signature in a Far Eastern newspaper, gravely stating that Woodrow Wilson would have welcomed the establishment of the new state of Manchuria on the ground that it was in accord with the principle of "self-determination."

It is heartbreaking for those who have followed your past career to believe that these statements accurately portray your views. You are a Quaker, a scholar and a philosopher. For seven years you faithfully served the cause of international coöperation as a high official in the League Secretariat. Yet today you apparently are indifferent to the violations by Japan of the League Covenant and the anti-war pact; apparently you have no sympathy with the principle embodied in those treaties: that a government having a grievance with a neighbor should refrain from resorting to force, at least until after it had submitted such grievance to some form of international jurisdiction. Please do not insist that we are misinformed as to the "facts." Europe and America know far more about what has happened in Manchuria and Shanghai than the Japanese people living under a Fascist censorship.

You are justly indignant at the action of the American Congress in enacting the exclusion law of 1924; you may point the finger of *tu quoque* at our frequent interventions in the Caribbean and at European domination of colored peoples everywhere. But let me call to your attention two facts: first, that largely as a result of pressure from American opinion, the government of the United States is gradually withdrawing from Haiti and Nicaragua and generally is moving in the direction of a policy of non-intervention. Moreover, largely as a result of the ideals fostered by the League of Nations, European governments are relaxing their control over Egypt, Iraq, Syria and other weak nations. The Covenant of the League of Nations is based upon the principle that small countries should be given protection against the irresponsible interventions of the Great Powers. In its actions in Manchuria and Shanghai, the Japanese military machine has made a mighty attempt to destroy this principle. It has resisted every effort to put intervention under international control; it has insisted upon being judge and party to the same cause. Confronted by these events, there was only one position which those who believe in the principle of international coöperation could take. We grieve, Dr. Nitobé, that you have not seen fit to take this position.

Second, let me point out to you that many thousands of Americans condemned the passage of the exclusion act of 1924 as strongly as you condemned it; that many Americans have condemned American and European imperialism just as they now condemn Japanese imperialism. No one has criticized the foreign policy of the United States more severely than have American citizens themselves. If you will forgive a personal reference, I should like to tell you that for ten years I was a resident of California. I lived in an atmosphere in which people were urged to believe that underneath a veneer of Western culture, the Japanese really were an uncivilized race, dominated by such symbols as Emperor Worship, Picture Brides and perpetual allegiance, and that your government, guilty of the Twenty-One Demands, constituted a Yellow Peril. Along with many other Americans, I deeply resented these attacks against your countrymen. I attempted to translate my resentment into action. During the California elections of 1920, I went to Imperial Valley, a center of anti-Japanese agitation, to make a series of speeches against the proposed initiative law prohibiting the leasing of land by Japanese. For my efforts I was denounced in the Imperial Valley papers as a "renegade American," engaged in "insidious Oriental propaganda." Officials in the American Legion at El Centro threatened me with tar and feathers. In 1924 I wrote articles and pamphlets urging resistance to the passage by Congress of the exclusion law. I argued for a solution of the immigration issue upon a basis that would satisfy the just claims of the Japanese people. In a debate in The Forum with Mr. V. S. McClatchy, leader in the exclusion movement, I advocated the admission of Japanese residents to American citizenship upon the same basis as any other aliens.

My position was similar to that of thousands of other Americans who denied the assumption of the exclusionists that it was impossible to bridge the cultural and racial gulf between Orientals and Occidentals. We firmly believed that the Japanese people were moving in a direction of liberalism and democracy, and that a body of fearless and independent Japanese opinion would arise which would eventually establish control over the Japanese government. In other words, we tried very hard to be "friends of Japan," not in the sense that we blindly defended the acts of the government, but that we believed Japanese individuals should be justly treated and that we had faith in the ultimate success of Japanese liberalism.

You may understand, therefore, how shocked these Americans have been at Japanese policy during the last nine months; and what is more important, how grieved they are that you personally

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should fail to stand out against this reaction. In view of the present regime in Japan, we could understand a policy of silence on your part, but we cannot understand a policy which uncritically defends Japanese militarism. Since leaders in many countries have deserted to the opposition after a lifelong profession of certain ideals, I do not question the sincerity of your present beliefs. I do wish to insist, however, that your recent statements have alienated many Americans who at one time had faith in the future of Japan, and who believed in the possibility of inter-racial coöperation. Possibly this interpretation of your present position is too severe. In any case, I hope that before leaving this country you will give new evidence that the faith, to which some of us still cling, in the ultimate triumph of liberalism in Japan (as well as in America) has not been misplaced.

RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL.

New York City.

Washington Notes

The Bewildered Senate—Tax Bills—The Young Boomlet—Roosevelt Still Ahead

POSSIBLY before this is printed the so-called billion-dollar tax bill will have been put through the Senate, though in what shape no man can tell. There has not been—in my time at least—a Senate so utterly confused, with so few men in it who know on one day what will be done the next. Actually, there are a considerable number who do not know at the end of a day what was done at the beginning. I will give a sample. Two days before the Finance Committee reported the bill, a correspondent met a member an hour after the meeting he had attended. "Why," asked the newspaper man, "did the Senate cut out those luxury taxes you were so strong for today, Senator?" "They didn't cut them out," said the Senator. "Oh, yes, they did," was the reply. Back rushed the Senator to the committee room to see the clerk. Chagrined, he emerged. "You're right," he said, "they did cut them out. I didn't know it, but they'll have to put 'em back." And they did. One morning they struck out of the bill all of the utterly indefensible tariff items, and the next, by exactly the same vote, restored them.

As I write this, one group of Democratic Senators, headed by the determined Thomas of Oklahoma, threatens to filibuster the bill to death if the oil tariff is stricken out on the floor, while another group, in which are included the able and irascible Mr. Glass of Virginia and the serious Cordell Hull of Tennessee, express their utter abhorrence of the tariff items and, it is said, will refuse to vote for any revenue measure that contains a single one. Walsh of Massachusetts is preparing to make a fight for the restoration of the ill fated sales tax, and this will, it seems, be supported strongly by a collection of more or less regular Republicans, some regular Democrats and an alleged leader or so who have been convinced of its necessity by the unofficial party advisers from New York, who make weekly trips down here for secret conferences, the net result of which, up to the moment, have been exactly zero. The progressives, of course, will oppose the sales-tax feature, the prospects of which are exceedingly slim, and will fight to increase gift taxes, estate taxes and higher-bracket income taxes.

Altogether, it is what might be called a sweet mess. Yet there is a chance of a bill coming out of the Senate that will far more approximately balance the budget than anyone a week ago had any reason to expect. As for economy, watch the Senate go to it. Mr. Hoover, I think, will get, from the Senate, the economy for which he has been asking, and he may very easily get more than he asked or wants. His White House conference with Democratic and Republican Senators was a much more pleasant and harmonious affair than his conferences with the House Economy Committee. For one thing, Mr. Hoover was in better humor. Beyond question he has been greatly encouraged over the response to his message castigating Congress for failure to function in the crisis. He thinks—and so does nearly everyone else—that he did himself a lot of good in that message. Certainly he put the Democrats on the defensive and, while they exhibited vast indignation on the floors of both chambers and through their publicity department, they were chagrined and are in a relatively chastened mood.

However, it is not likely to last long. The periodical spasms of nonpartisan coöperation come and go. This one will remain until the fright engendered by the recent exhibition of popular resentment over the economy debacle in the House subsides. Before the session ends, the imminence of the presidential campaign will compel another partisan performance, in which Mr. Hoover and all his works will be assailed on the one side and the Democratic ineptitude, turpitude and general incompetence denounced on the other. Certainly the Democrats will not refrain from a final party demonstration in House and Senate, calculated to stimulate their convention orators and platform makers. And this time they will not have the Republican regulars silent in their seats. Hoover is their destined leader in the coming campaign. They are all bound up with him. Coming to his defense now is merely enlightened self-interest. Moreover, I have reason to believe that before the finish Mr. Hoover will issue another pronouncement. He was so pleased with the result of the first one that it is only a question of time before he tries to repeat.

In the meantime, and while there is a more or less tolerant spirit on both sides, we may get something done, though if there is anyone in the Senate or out who can tell you what, I have not been able to find him. The sonorous Democratic program promulgated last week by the Democratic floor leader, Senator Robinson, was a rather impressive document with some sound features. If carried out, it means some measure of federal relief for the unemployed, a hope of a revival of the equalization-fee plan of agricultural help, and a launching of new public projects through a bond issue that will put a lot of men to work. It remains to be seen how much in the way of support the Democrats can muster for these proposals. That all of them—or any of them—will get through before adjournment is problematical. It is no secret that the

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gentlemen who inspired the plan were Mr. Owen D. Young and Mr. B. M. Baruch. Just prior to its announcement they visited Washington, conferred with leader Robinson, expressed themselves later as believing the Democrats would have "a program." It is about time.

Incidentally, the resurrection of the Young boom for the presidential nomination came almost simultaneously with the Robinson announcement. I think there is no doubt that Young is now and always has been the candidate of the anti-Roosevelt forces. He is the man the Smith-Raskob-Shouse-Hague-Traylor combination wants to put over and intends to put over if it can. Mr. Traylor, the Chicago banker, who is being boomed himself, is merely a stalking horse for the Young movement. The Eastern leaders are primarily Young men—for Young before they are for Baker, or Ritchie, or Cox, or anyone else. By the time the convention meets this will be so plain that everyone will know it. As a matter of fact, nearly everybody in politics does now, and the idea, which I once cherished, that Mr. Young was sincerely anxious not to be nominated, has had to be abandoned. In the light of his equalization-fee speech, his advocacy of a two-billion-dollar bond issue and the activity of his closest friends, that idea will not hold water.

He is just as much of a candidate as any of the others. The studied keeping of him in the background these last few months has been, I think, merely part of the political strategy of his friends. Now he has partially emerged and, it seems to me, a little prematurely. It may be that the forces behind him will be successful in a deadlocked convention, but the odds appear heavily against him. If the Smith crowd blocks Roosevelt's nomination, it is not likely that the Roosevelt forces from the South and West can be induced to accept another New Yorker, chosen for them by Smith, particularly another New Yorker who more completely represents Big Business and High Finance than any other man in the country. I do not see how Mr. Young in any series of speeches can make himself appear sufficiently progressive to vaccinate against that long list of corporate connections, affiliations and alliances. To the West he not only represents the Power Trust—he is the Power Trust. However, you never can tell what a Democratic convention will do, and the notion that New York is the entire country may be accepted by the leaders who control, if and when the Roosevelt candidacy disintegrates.

I think I pointed out last week that counting upon this disintegration may be a mistake, and that Roosevelt's nomination is by no means out. He not only will have close to a majority of the delegates when the convention meets, but he has a secondary strength in several states which it is foolish to discount. His friends here, it is true, were somewhat dismayed by the California result, but have measurably regained their confidence and are convinced that he will win. At the moment they are chiefly embarrassed by the outburst of opposition to Senator Barkley of Kentucky, who was selected by Roosevelt's managers as temporary chairman and keynoter of the convention. Since then Mr. Barkley's vote put into the tax bill an increased tariff on coal practically amounting to an embargo. To the Hull-Glass-Harrison type of Democrat this was a peculiarly abhorrent action and there has been a violent rebound against him.

The absurdity of having a man, who voted to increase the very tariff rates the Democrats have so bitterly denounced for three years and which they pledged themselves to reduce, the keynoter for the party does appear too ridiculous even for a Democratic convention. Yet Roosevelt's managers find it hard to push him aside. He is regarded as one of the aspirants for second place on the Roosevelt ticket and has from the start been a Roosevelt prop, pillar and support. The opposition to him was started by Senator Cordell Hull of Tennessee, also a Roosevelt man, but the most sincere and consistent low-tariff Democrat left in the party. Clearly something will have to be done about Mr. Barkley. In view of his vote, he would be a ridiculous keynoter. Some optimists here think that when he realizes the situation he will voluntarily retire. That would make the Roosevelt leaders grateful—or at least it should.

Washington. T. R. B.

Tonight We Improvise

MR. PUTNAM, the translator of Pirandello's newest play[1] says in the very happy introduction written for the volume that it is the greatest of his dramas and not less so in originality. At the same time he quotes Mr. Shaw's opinion that "Six Characters in Search of an Author" is "the most original play ever written." That "Tonight We Improvise" is better than this play I doubt. It seems to me it has less of a kind of magnetism, and a good deal less tension in the technique itself, in the scheme of expression, even allowing for the effect of freshness and novelty of the earlier piece when it struck us. Both of them, if more direct and tangible in their method and impact, I do not believe to have anything like the depth and fullness of "Henry IV." The amplitude and vast theatre of that tragedy give it a unique position in modern drama.

As to the originality of any of these works of Pirandello, I do not know about the "ever" side, and have not, for that matter, the temperament that requires "evers" and "onlys" and "mosts" to reassure me. Certainly the technical scheme of either "Six Characters in Search of an Author" or "Tonight We Improvise" is far more original than, for example, anything in Shaw's drama. The Shaw drama has a personal prose felicity and punch that evince an originality that is largely one of a personality or style; and it has developed a means of injecting thought into English drama, a process which was in contrast with the more or less empty theatre of Henry Arthur Jones or Pinero but which at bottom was only a revival of the capacity of the Elizabethans—so despised by Mr. Shaw—of introducing into drama the Renaissance thought and poetry. The great originality of Pirandello consists fundamentally in an extension of dramatic technique. In him the field widens to include a philosophic idea that, though it was not new, had never found a dramatic form identical

[1] Tonight We Improvise, by Luigi Pirandello. Translated by Samuel Putnam. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 231 pages. $2.50

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with its substance. Talk, talk, talk, about an idea, as in Shaw's "Man and Superman," may launch the idea into a popular currency, but it remains talk, remarks in dialogue. In Pirandello's "Six Characters in Search of an Author," for instance, the form, manner and theatrical necessities of the play itself are the idea, subtle and elusive as the idea may be. He has found a way of causing his play to be what it talks about.

Even with that, this Pirandello dramatic form, though original and exciting, comes directly out of an Italian tradition. I have written before, and I dare say others have, of the relation of the Pirandello theatre to the *commedia dell' arte*. The characters, the freedom and the improvisation of the old *commedia* are obvious information, we all know about them. They connect easily enough with that impression of individual energy among the people in such a Pirandello play as the "Six Characters." The real or most fundamental connection of the *commedia* with such a play lies in the way in which the old theatrical form ran back and forth between reality and fiction, the way it danced between art and life. The characters were plainly the same familiar players in their same familiar parts, Harlequin, Polinchinello, Brighella and the rest, in situations that changed with the piece to be enacted. The emotions and crises portrayed, therefore, had in them the quality of music, the singer being clearly himself, the emotion coming truly into its own, so that for the moment it belonged to the players, and the player became the person in whom the emotion ruled. This back and forth between reality and art is exactly what gives to the Pirandello theatre its unique and engaging character. It is at the same time the most original and the most traditional thing about Pirandello's theatre, which came to us with such startling freshness and lively new method. What Pirandello did was to insert into this form the prancing styles and characters, moving all into the region of the modern brain and modern theatre nerves, and then to announce with care and finality a philosophic comment that explained the meaning he sought for the whole.

"Tonight We Improvise" brings this method very markedly to a head. Doctor Hinkfuss is to present a play that has a script of the barest nature, a Sicilian story in which is indicated what must happen and which is to be carried through to its cardinal scenes by the coöperation, invention and emotion of actors, audience, manager and scenery combined, not to speak of aisles and corridors in the theatre itself. This improvisation and mixture of reality and fiction extend even to the décor. A scene dwindles and fades before our eyes, and the walls of another place stand out; the scene happens in our minds, that is, awakened by what we see on the stage, whose reality and unreality is both apparent and exciting. The characters in this new play have scarcely their own names; you pass, for example, from the name of the leading lady—to be inserted when the play is given—to the character in the story, whose name is merely a convenience to serve in the pattern of the action, the feeling and the participation of the audience, the design made up of the comic, the tragic and our reactions, all combined.

The story deals with the family of La Croce, in a Sicilian town. The father, an engineer, vague enough, is [illegible] cabaret singer, the mother and daughters are leading a life of open-house, officers from the barracks, singing, laughing and dancing, not to say freedom of conduct, a whirl of life shocking to the town. The father is ridiculed in the cabaret, even by the *chanteuse,* who is herself broken-hearted because of some man and whose tears when she sings have real cause. In a scene where the mother has the toothache, where prayers are tried and a sort of masquerade, the daughter dressing up in the officer's uniform and he in fancy clothes, where there is dancing, laughter and topsy-turvy—more shocking in Sicily than on Park Avenue these days—the father is brought home from the cabaret, hanging on the neck of the *chanteuse,* his bowels ripped out with a knife. The actor cannot manage the whole scene but succeeds at last in falling down dead. In the third act one of the daughters has married one of the suitors or whatever we may call these visitors. He has married her out of pique, mingled with jealousy plus a desire to show the other men what is what with him. He has taken her to his ancestral place. His father has been a tyrant, the family history tragic and oppressive. We see the wife now with her two children, she is prisoner within some appalling shadow, in the midst of walls, the past and her husband's torture of her. The theme of the story now fully appears: jealousy in all its blackness, and this time jealousy in its last ineluctable shape: jealousy of the past. The wife's past, the past that lives in her husband's memory and in his soul, together with his present passionate torments, is what guards and destroys this woman. Her sister has become a famous prima donna. We have the family returning, but not for long; the young mother speaks of her father, his gypsy *chanteuse* in the cabaret, his death; she sings her children the story and tortures of the gypsy Azucena in "Il Trovatore," and at the end of it dies. The company of actors and Dr. Hinkfuss, the producer, speak again, and the play is over. "The birth of life is something that no one can control" one of the actors has said. Another says, "You first loose life on us, with all its passions and all its madness."

There is a sentence in the translator's introduction that I should differ with and that seems to me to illustrate one of the failures in a sincere admirer sometimes to understand his artist. Pirandello, we all know, was born in Girgenti, there in the south of Sicily in that ancient Acragas that Pindar called the most beautiful city in the world. Speaking of Dr. Hinkfuss' long speech with which the producer introduces what follows to the audience, Mr. Putnam says that "All this is easier to understand, if we remember something of Pirandello's intellectual background . . . if we remember his early philosophic studies in Germany, where he found the warmth of Sicilian passion confronted with Teutonic frigidity, the frigidity of the theoretical." How true this is, if you don't care what you say! And how useless to combat it, since it apparently does not matter what you say in this world of words, words, words and everybody holding forth in print, and in a country like ours where some of the best psychological sellers are the obstetrical fiction of young women! In the first place, speaking generally, the passions have their own logic. Fiercely and darkly they work, sorting their elements together, squaring them at last in that final conclusion of violence. Only vague, soft and fuddled emotions are with-

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out this inner and final logic of their own. The more violent the passion is, the more logical, taken alone in itself, since the more completely it will come to the resolution according to its own nature. But leaving that out, we come to the point that this Sicily Pirandello derives from was a part of Magna Græcia, the Greek world and mind, and that somewhere around the ninth century it became Arabic, a Berber civilization, not without abstractions and subtle thought. This same Southern world, not Sicily but across the narrow strait between it and the mainland, was the world of Thomas Aquinas and Vico—Hegel's source, we may remember—the world of Volterra today and of Croce and others. Nor have German philosophers been uniformly frigid, we must know that; nor is the music of "Parsifal," sensuous, mystical chrism that it is of German philosophic religion, either so hot or so cold as the Italian Gregorian on the one hand or the South Italian mystics on the other. But why go on talking of what any good educated Nordic knows and never believes?

Mr. Putnam quotes also from a very suggestive note in the Italian publisher's foreword to Pirandello's new play: instead of *personaggi* in search of an author, this play might be said to give us *"personaggi qui fuggono l'autore,"* characters that flee the author. We find quoted also a suggestive line from the new preface to "Six Characters in Search of an Author": *"ma non si dà vita invano a un personaggio,"* not vainly does one give life to a character. Through Dr. Hinkfuss, the dramatist himself has something to say that helps with our response to his play:

> Life is subject to two opposed necessities, which permit it neither an enduring existence on the one hand nor constant motion on the other. If life were always in motion, it would never possess any endurance; if it were to endure forever, it would never know what motion is. Yet it is necessary that life should, at once, be in motion and endure. The poet is under an illusion when he fancies that he has found perfect peace and achieved liberation by crystallizing forever, in an immutable form, his work of art. He has merely stopped living his work.
>
> If a work of art survives, it is only because we are still able to take it out of its crystallized state, to dissolve its form within us in a vital motion; and it is we who give it life, varying from occasion to occasion and from one to another of us. . . .

As to the changes in scene during the play, the bringing of the audience into the action and such more or less external contrivances and motivations, there are possibilities to them; it is nothing particularly impressive but is fair enough. The fine thing about "Tonight We Improvise" lies in its vast extension of theatre effect, the flow and run of it, the essential theatricality—which must be always admitted theatricality as such—the force in it that obliges us both to feel the dramatic moment and at the same time to fall back into the prose fact that it is art and make-believe. The range of the play is very wide, in that scene, for example, of the mother and daughters and young men, the toothache, the paternosters, the leading actor coming home as the stabbed father, supported by the gypsy *chanteuse*, the pseudo blood, the real horror, the burst of real passion and tragic feeling from the actress at the moment when everyone admits it is a play and only [illegible] passion among the actors themselves. Given straight and simply, for what it is, not novelty but life and art, "Tonight We Improvise" would be a fine and powerful play for an intelligent producer to undertake, what with its comedy and its racy analytical thinking, its uses of music, singing, movement and variety, and especially for its basis of humor, which gives to it the quality of some unforgettable and curious and macabre *scherzo*.

STARK YOUNG.

Not Murals

THE SHOWING of presumed mural decorations by the Younger American Painters (and photographers) at the Museum of Modern Art was an ambitious and timely enterprise. Popular or controversial interest in the Younger Painters remains at a quite high pitch nowadays. Moreover, the idea of leading the painter away from pure easel-painting and giving him, for the time being, a closer functional relation to our modern society, our achitecture, our interior decoration, has been much discussed among art lovers and even spoken of in these pages. If, as it is sometimes said, easel-painting "has no place any more," then it might be a noble experiment to return to a medium whose traditions hark back to ancient Egypt, in 4,500 B. C., and whose range has touched all human folklore, religion history, technology. This to be done with the understanding, naturally, that the medium was to undergo revision in modern hands. At the same time, Radio City, rearing itself wonderfully and dreadfully but a few steps from the Modern Museum, seemed to clamor for monuments of plastic art, both within and without. One awaited, therefore, this showing of projected murals with mingled curiosity, hope and fear.

But alas! the outcome can only be characterized as a sheer disaster. It is one of those instances of artistic *Schrecklichkeit* which occur too often in our cultural history for this young and short memory to enumerate. The Younger Painters, with rare exceptions, show no knowledge, possibly even, no interest, in the requirements of mural decoration. Most of them have not even begun to ponder over the special geometrical problems evoked here, such as that of the treatment of space and volume to harmonize with interior architecture. And whatever lessons they might have learned from the recent work of Rivera—though, to be sure, this work is of unequal value—were not profited by. Age-old principles established for the mural are violated: there is generally no restraint exercised in color and line, no delicate avoidance of perspective effect; and these violations, if purposive, are in no sense counterbalanced by new esthetic contributions. Here are mostly big, sloppy easel-paintings, dashed off on short order. Not murals.

What interior architecture is conceivable, for instance, as wedded to Reginald Marsh's lurid canvas of belly-shaking, intoxicated skyscraper, locomotive and maggoty-traffic theme? Or how can we place a bench, a console or a flower pot next to such a thing as Franklin Watkins' "Spirit of Man, Crushed by the Machine, Nourishing the Tree of Life"? (The title gives the measure of the average literary imagination shown in these murals; and this

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Carnegie International show at Pittsburgh!) Or, taking the propagandist picture of Morris Kantor, a pro-communist slice of Union Square—what habitable interior spaces can be arranged about it, save those of an auditorium in which nothing is to happen but the prolonged study of Mr. Kantor's big, lifeless, though much peopled, canvas? Laboring under pressure, these amateurs of mural painting show few ideas, few themes: the Empire State Building; machinery, skyscrapers, riots; and again, the Empire State Building. Their weak imitativeness and naïveté stares at us.

It is all very disconcerting, because some of these same painters, when working under favorable conditions, in the particular mediums they understand, have shown both talent and character; have given us cause to hope for an American school. One had reason to look for better things from bright persons such as O'Keefe, Kantor, Sterne, Marsh. And while we allude to the high pressure under which these things were made, we may as well place the blame for disaster where it belongs: upon the head of the director of the exhibition, the chairman of the exhibition committee.

This gentleman, in view of the importance of the affair, should have given his collaborators more time. With his impressive learning, paraded in the lengthy introduction to the catalogue—and all studded with allusions to history—he should have known better than to allot only three weeks to the painters who were invited to exhibit, and who were undoubtedly overexcited at the hinted prospect of commissions from Radio City. And finally, there is the little question of taste, or selection.

A keen-eyed foreign visitor who accompanied the writer to this show commented as follows: "I had thought that New York, as a great metropolis, was developing rapidly the *esprit critique,* curious, cynical, selective, which is truly the grand mark of civilization. But now when I see this I am very astonished. Such a thing would not be allowed in our country."

There are but a few amiable observations to be added to our complaint. Henry Varnum Poor, with long experience in ceramics, seemed to approach the mural technique more closely than others—though his ideas appear tedious to us. Kimon Nicolaides also appreciates the demands of the mural form; as does Henry Billings, who has been thinking his way toward mural painting for several years and gives promise of "finding himself" in this ancient medium.

The advanced photographers who were to bring us something new in the way of "photo-murals" were only a little less obviously disappointing than the painters. Much simplification would have been required to adapt photography to wall decoration; and this was successfully accomplished only by the brilliant Edward Steichen, whose "George Washington Bridge" was the strongest and the most truly decorative work exhibited.

In short, it was all a grievous defeat. Yet the sponsors who have generally aided and housed this show should not lose courage. Under wiser direction, with the Younger Painters learning unhurriedly by trial-and-error, an army may yet be rallied together and the siege of Radio City resumed.

Not on the Ticker Tape

ONE OF the amazing incidents in the legislative history of 1932 was the sponsorship of the Glass-Steagall act, which permits substitution of government bonds for commercial paper as part collateral behind Federal Reserve currency, by Senator Carter Glass of Virginia. Mr. Glass is not only a financial purist, traditionally opposed to inflation and to organized speculation, but has made a hobby of trying to keep the Federal Reserve System functioning as a purely commercial banking institution. A year or so ago, he even revealed in conversation that he thought that the amendment to the Federal Reserve Act, which enables member banks to borrow on government bonds, as an alternative to commercial paper, ought to be repealed. The explanation of Mr. Glass's inconsistency, offered by his friends, is that he sponsored the recent measure only after he had been assured by the Federal Reserve authorities that they would not take advantage of this emergency permission, which was granted only for one year. However, the present Federal Reserve open-market campaign indicates that it intends to put government bonds behind Federal Reserve notes. As a matter of fact, such an alleged private arrangement appears to be distinctly unholy. Laws should be open covenants openly arrived at, and it is improper for the administration or anyone else to gang legislators into the belief that proposed laws will be only psychological gestures, which will not be enforced. The Hoover administration for a long time predicated its economic reconstruction program on faith cures. Incidentally, some months ago a British economic journal satirically reported that the Cabinet had decided to tell the public that the country was at war. Then factories reopened, and industries hummed. With prosperity restored, the Cabinet was puzzled how to tell the British public that it was only pretending and that there was no enemy.

It is fashionable nowadays in Wall Street to speak of the superb financiering in the London money market since England departed from the gold standard last September. England, it will be recalled, repaid loans to France and the United States with surprising promptness. The good record was largely ascribable to an unforeseen stroke of good fortune—in the willingness of hoarders in India to disgorge themselves of gold to take advantage of the premium in paper rupees. No economist was able to predict at what price the Indian peasants would be tempted to sell gold.

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States for obvious reasons has stopped pushing its slogan "less government in business and more business in government." With laissez-faire as an economic method facing a major "technical reaction," business men, farmers, railroad and shipping chiefs and bankers are clamoring to get government further into business to help them in their plight. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation, intended only for the emergency, marks an experiment in state socialism in banking. The insistence of tax-dodging wealthy individuals on tax-free state and municipal bonds, instead of taxable bonds of private companies, is another strong factor making for an

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The philosophy which actuates the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in making loans to railroads and others is that present conditions are subnormal and that future conditions will be better. If this speculative assumption proves wrong, the public agency will be saddled with bad loans.

Congress was prevailed upon to pass this extraordinary measure by a whispering campaign about individual weak situations. The process entailed government by panic. If private bankers were willing to follow along in loosening up a little, the technique would have a much better chance of success. But instead, in recent railroad loans bankers sought to use the public agency as a dumping ground for bonds in their portfolios in which they had lost confidence.

Not only have investment bankers in not a few instances run out on their clients, leaving them holding the bag, but commercial bankers have in their race for liquidity deserted numerous business borrowers who had long grown accustomed to rely on their coöperation. Apologists for bankers declare that the banks are eager for prime paper, but the truth is that the gilt-edged corporations, rich in cash, do not under existing circumstances need bank credit. Member banks will not really contribute to a restoration of normal conditions until they become willing to accept the paper of second, third and fourth-grade names, provided they represent honest and solvent undertakings. With bankers running away from business risks, small wonder that the credit seeker looks increasingly to the government.

Two quiet, unheralded men are coming forward as outstanding banking leaders in Wall Street—William C. Potter, the mining engineer, who became president of the Guaranty Trust Company, and Winthrop W. Aldrich, the lawyer, who became president of the Chase National Bank. Mr. Aldrich is the Rockefeller spokesman for the Chase Bank, and has gradually been taking over increasing authority.

One of the popular myths has been that the United States Steel Corporation has been extraordinarily well managed. Many close students do not accept this assumption. They feel that the corporation has been resting on its oars. Its great advantage was assured by Carnegie and the other pioneers, who preëmpted rich sources of raw materials and located plants in strategic places. But the corporation has been far from a leader in reducing the number of man hours per ton of steel produced. The great automobile companies and the leading chemical companies, for example, have been far more advanced in eliminating economic waste. As matters now stand, British companies produce steel more economically than American companies, which need the tariff protection. Of course, the British differential does not spring from superior technology, but largely from sweating labor and from understating depreciation in their accounts.

Apologists for Lee, Higginson and Company encourage the view that the firm were suckers in the Kreuger and Toll matter, not willing allies in public exploitation. The episode will go far toward discrediting laissez-faire in banking. It is a bull argument for effective governmental regulation of new issues of securities.

L. M. N.

CORRESPONDENCE

Not the Georgia Power Company

SIR: My attention has just been called to the article in your May 4 issue entitled "What Happened to Insull." This article contains several references to the Georgia Power Company which are inaccurate and misleading. The Georgia Power Company does not serve Tallahassee, Florida; it is not a subsidiary of the Seaboard Public Service Company, and it is not connected in any way, directly or indirectly, with the Insull group of utility properties.

It is probable that the writer of the article, Mr. John T. Flynn, had in mind the Georgia Power and Light Company, which supplies electric service in a portion of southern Georgia and which is a member of the Insull group of utilities. The Georgia Power and Light Company is entirely separate and distinct from the Georgia Power Company.

While this confusion of names on the part of Mr. Flynn was no doubt unintentional, you can appreciate the effect of his erroneous statement upon the minds of those Georgia Power Company stockholders who happened to see the article or had their attention called to it. I therefore request that you publish a correction in the next issue of your magazine.

P. S. Arkwright, President,
Atlanta, Ga. Georgia Power Company.

SIR: Mr. Arkwright is correct. I wrote "Georgia Power Company" instead of Georgia Power and Light Company. Mr. Ivar Kreuger went mad trying to remember the names of the companies in his own vast web. The web spun by Mr. Insull is far more complicated and extensive than Mr. Kreuger's. Mr. Arkwright, I hope, will therefore overlook this slip.

New York City. John T. Flynn.

Hounds and Horns

SIR: There are various misstatements about The Hound and Horn in Mr. Granville Hicks's review of Mr. Kirstein's "Flesh Is Heir," which for the sake of accuracy should be corrected.

> Mr. Kirstein, his fellow editors and most of their contributors have leisure, the means to publish a magazine, and enough intelligence to master the ideas of others. Belonging to the leisure class, they have desired a leisure-class culture to sustain them, and they have tried to patch one together out of whatever odds and ends lay at hand—Eliot's royalism, Maritain's neo-Thomism, tags of classical learning, and an acquaintance with the names and often, indeed, the works of various recondite authors. That such a hodge-podge could be and in a sense deserved to be, taken seriously is a commentary on the state of American criticism.

1. The statement about the leisure class is false of the following contributors to the spring Hound and Horn, which is typical of other issues: Francis Fergusson, Lindley Williams Hubbell, Hazel Hawthorne, Selden Rodman, E. E. Cummings, Thomas Hornsby Ferril, Jon Cheever, R. P. Blackmur, David Cornel DeJong, Etienne Gilson, Harold Sterner, A. Hyatt Mayor, Lawrence Leighton, H. B. Parkes, H. R. Hays and Martha Gruening.

2. There has never been any mention of Eliot's royalism in The Hound and Horn. Not one of the editors or contributors is a follower of Eliot's royalism; not one has attempted to find an American equivalent.

3. The only article on Maritain in The Hound and Horn was an unfavorable review of three reformers, by James Luther Adams ("Three Reformers: Luther, Descartes, Rousseau"—Vol. III, No. 1). None of the editors or contributors to The Hound and Horn is a disciple or great admirer of Maritain.

4. "Tags of classical learning" is a meaningless phrase that does little credit to Mr. Hicks as a teacher of composition.

5. "An acquaintance with the names and often, indeed, the works of various recondite authors." Since when have Homer, Aristotle and Dante become recondite authors?

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Mr. Hicks points out a contrast between the stories which "are, for the most part, direct and almost childishly behavioristic accounts of naïve and bewildered persons" and "the subtle and dignified philosophies, the impressive erudition, the pretentious self-discipline of the articles." From that he concludes "that the spectacular structure to whose erection The Hound and Horn is devoted rests upon dangerously unsubstantial foundations." The explanation of the contrast is simple. The editors can choose books for review, select the reviewers (Mr. Hicks has written for The Hound and Horn), and assign articles to be written, but with the short stories, they can only publish what to their taste are the best of those submitted. It may be no criterion, but each issue of O'Brien's "Best Short Stories" has contained one story from The Hound and Horn and given honorable mention to many more stories published in The Hound and Horn. And is it strictly accurate to refer to the following authors of our short stories as naïve and bewildered persons?—Katherine Anne Porter, Kay Boyle, Kathleen Tankersley Young, Erskine Caldwell, Kenneth Burke, Sean O'Fáoláin, Conrad Aiken, Caroline Gordon, Janet Lewis.

LINCOLN E. KIRSTEIN,
A. HYATT MAYOR,
BERNARD BANDLER II.

New York City.

SIR: Since it was clear to me that Mr. Kirstein's "Flesh Is Heir" was scarcely worth reviewing except insofar as it threw some light upon The Hound and Horn, I tried to bring out the relations between the novel and the magazine. Since I had been requested to use as little space as possible, I attempted to indicate the nature of the quarterly by the use of a few suggestive phrases. I thought my description essentially accurate, and a number of regular readers of the magazine have agreed with me. Nevertheless, I made a serious mistake. If I had remembered the sensitiveness and the pedantic spirit of the editors of The Hound and Horn, I should have realized that in the end it would save my time and The New Republic's space to expand every phrase into a paragraph, and I should have expressed myself in some such fashion as this:

"The Hound and Horn is a publication of and for the leisure class. Not every contribution exhibits the traits of that class: the stories and many of the poems certainly do not; even some articles and reviews, because of the editors' confusion and their inability to find enough persons who share their theories, do not. But there is a characteristic Hound and Horn attitude towards life, which makes itself felt in the work of the editors and perhaps twenty more or less regular contributors. I have no statistical information regarding the incomes of these persons, but I should assume on internal evidence that practically all of them belong to the leisure class. They unmistakably exhibit the leisure-class psychology, and if they are not actually parasites, they are something rather worse. These typical Hound and Horn contributors are trying to develop a leisure-class culture that will justify their existence.

"They realize, however vaguely, that a cultural development such as they are seeking must have its roots in political and philosophical convictions. Because of their own remoteness from the social struggle that is going on, their political views have no definite shape. They are contemptuous of liberalism; they have no understanding of communism; they have not yet realized that it would be logical for them to espouse fascism. They have, however, some romantic notion of an aristocracy of wealth and leisure.

"In religion their views are better formulated. Some of them subscribe to the dogmas of either Anglo or Roman Catholicism; the others are deeply interested in those dogmas. If, as the editors say, they select reviewers and assign articles, it is significant that we find in almost every issue three or four articles or reviews that are favorable to institutional Christianity. It is hard to tell precisely where the men who are drifting towards Catholicism have picked up their conception of Christianity, but I suspect they have been a good deal influenced by various French writers, among them Jacques Maritain, to whom there are two favorable references in Vol. V, No. 2. It is easier and more important to know why they are drifting in that direction: one can understand the appeal of

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side the flux of contemporary life. Furthermore, the dry precision of scholasticism is a comfort to anyone who does not care to face the grave social problems of the present day, for it creates an illusion of intellectual activity without any of its dangers.

"For similar reasons they are fond of regarding themselves as students of the classics, though only one of them gives any evidence of having been thoroughly disciplined in Greek and Latin. They refer freely to Aristotle, Homer, Lucretius, Aeschylus, Empedocles and Vergil, and adorn their pages with odds and ends of information derived from a casual acquaintance with the classics. Thus they not only develop a sense of intellectual superiority and feel they are perpetuating the great leisure-class traditions of the past; they also find, as T. S. Eliot and Ezra Pound have done, a compensation for the absence of creative power in the contemplation of the ancient authors.

"This peculiarly leisure-class form of pedantry also explains their preference for the more difficult of contemporary poets and novelists. The mastering of obscure works occupies their leisure time, convinces them of their intelligence and distinguishes them from less fortunate member of society. An analysis of The Hound and Horn's reviews, taking into consideration the books that are not reviewed as well as those that are, shows an extraordinary preoccupation with authors who are or are supposed to be caviar to the general. This preoccupation might rise from a legitimate desire to champion little-known writers, but careful examination of the reviews and articles suggests that this praiseworthy motive has been supplemented by a less honorable one. Wallace Stevens may deserve a thirty-three-page article; certainly such an article can be counted on to impress the barbarians and appeal to the self-satisfaction of the cognoscenti."

The closing paragraph of the editors' letter can easily be disposed of. What they say about articles and reviews, on the one hand, and stories, on the other, precisely proves my point: the attitude towards life exposed in the reviews and articles is sterile; almost all the stories they print and much of the poetry come out of an entirely different attitude. I am sure they would print stories and poems that were consistent with their theories if they could find them; but they cannot find them.

As for the editors' righteous indignation on behalf of the insulted Katherine Anne Porter, Kay Boyle, *et al.*, I hasten to assure them that the "of" in the phrase they quote—"behavioristic accounts of childish and bewildered persons"—means, as common usage would have it mean in such a context, "about" and not "by."

Troy, N. Y. GRANVILLE HICKS.

"Saving" on the Schools

SIR: The axe of economic retrenchment is swinging far and wide; this new panacea for the present crisis has been seized upon as a godsend. But there is one place where such "economy" will be dangerous—we cannot afford to "save" on our children, we cannot neglect the building of future men and women. And yet the New York City Board of Education has stopped all building programs, at a time when the increased registration in public schools of the city demand *more* buildings. It has increased and consolidated classes so that groups of forty-five and fifty are the rule rather than the exception.

There are over 10,000 unemployed teachers in New York City at the present time. They can no longer withdraw into a false haven of pride and gentility; their need is too desperate and pressing. And *they* are not unemployed because there are no *jobs* for them in the educational system. Every school cries out for more teaching facilities.

A protest meeting on economic retrenchment in education will be held on Friday, May 20, in the auditorium of the Textile High School, Eighteenth Street and Eighth Avenue, at 8 o'clock, under the auspices of the New York Association of Unappointed Teachers and the Unemployed Teachers' Association. Vigorous support is necessary for the campaign, and we urge all thinking parents, unemployed and employed teachers, and citizens to be present.

NEW YORK ASSOCIATION OF UNAPPOINTED TEACHERS,
UNEMPLOYED TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION.

The Post-war Kipling

Limits and Renewals, by Rudyard Kipling. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.

I HAVE never shared the common opinion that Kipling has gone off as he has grown older. I have always thought, up to this last volume at any rate, that he had continued to be as good as he ever was—that his more recent and less read volumes were in fact in some ways improvements on his early work.

"'Tis we, 'tis our estrangéd faces that miss the many-splendored thing." We will not look in Kipling's direction any more. He was as much a part of a definite period that came to an end with the War as Theodore Roosevelt was, and he did not, as did Roosevelt, die appropriately when it was over.

The special interest that Kipling had for people in the eighties and nineties and early nineteen hundreds was due to the fact that he expressed for them the special excitement of that period of imperialist expansion as we knew it in England and America. Kipling conveyed it as nobody else did, and its merits and demerits were his. It was an age of brilliant technical development and of generally dull intelligence. And Kipling was the new poet of these new mechanical techniques and of the ideals of the people who spread them. Out of their language he made a new style and out of their ingenuity a new form. Kipling is perhaps the one really first-rate glorifier of the machine-age in literature and makes the Futurists and the post-war machine fans look like the spouters of old-fashioned rhetoric that for the most part they are. These latter merely whooped and roared in an essentially romantic fashion over the bigness, the power, the speed, of the machines; but Kipling had mastered in his own art the mechanical efficiency and discipline.

When we look into "Traffics and Discoveries" or "The Day's Work" today we are brought back to the spic-and-span steamships and the locomotives of the transcontinental railroads of the day before yesterday; we catch again the smug, bright and limited view of the people who traveled on them. The people, we are now able to note, are somewhat inferior in quality to the machines. And in some of the stories, indeed, the people have almost completely disappeared and there are only the locomotives and ships. This turns out, however, not to be satisfactory: I have always myself been revolted by that apotheosized locomotive and by the Ship That Found Herself. The Egyptians at least had hawks and apes. But then, on the other hand, the human side of the human stories is rarely satisfactory either. All Kipling's wonderful technical equipment has been used to put over ideas which seem shallow or sentimental or cheap. There is deep feeling in Kipling, to be sure, but his peculiar combination of moral simplemindedness and knowing sophistication somehow spoils it in nine cases out of ten between platitude and artifice.

Yet Kipling is serious and thoughtful. He has done his best to supply a moral point of view which would dignify and give meaning to the immense cargo of impressions he has shipped. He tried to establish behind the expansion of British capitalism something analogous to the Law of the Old Testament or to the political morality of Rome. But the nineteenth-century British Empire would not live up to either of these ideals. The Old Testament side of Kipling is surely the most tiresome and the phoniest. And though, as in the remarkable school story "Regulus," the Roman idea serves better, Kipling has never quite been able to fit the cars and the cigars of the modern English into a world of Horace and Virgil and Livy. This is particularly striking in one of the stories in this latest volume, "The Church at Antioch," in which Kipling, attempting to recreate the provincial administration of Rome on the model of the British civil service, instead of by implication magnifying the British, merely makes the Romans look bogus. He has himself had his moments of doubt—as when, after the Boer War, he wrote one of his few really fine poems, "Recessional." But his doubts have never shaken his convictions. In this latest book, for example, we still read about an India where Gandhi is unknown and where devoted Indian servants pray touchingly for the recovery of George V.

Yet in the meantime there had occurred another war which had laid the whole of Kipling's world flat, which had loosened all the ties, demoralized all the forces, broken down all the institutions, on whose strength he had always counted, whose virtue he had spent his life exalting. It has been interesting to see what Kipling makes of the world of after the War. What are the feelings of a sincere imperialist who is also a sensitive and imaginative man when he looks out on this desolation? He has lost a son under peculiarly painful circumstances, and first of all he writes in detail and with passionate pains a chronicle of the Irish Guards, with whom his boy had served. He is bitter against "democracy," he rails a little at the corrupt politicians. Then quickly at sixty-seven he seems twice as old as H. G. Wells who is only two years younger than he, older than Bernard Shaw at seventy-six. He continues to observe the world, notes the changes in the Americans and the English, reproduces the language and the mental habits of the new types with all his old virtuosity. But the old glory and gusto of the Englishman's mission are gone. The characters in his stories are mostly men at a loss, psychologically crippled by the War or soberly carrying on as best they can. Four of the fourteen stories in this new book deal with war neuroses—as did several in the volume before it; and Kipling is as distressed about these unfortunate men and as solicitous to rescue them as if they were his own children. His principal remedies for saving their reason are practical jokes and benevolent frauds. One man is redeemed by a dog; another by a book by Miss Ewing; another by laughing at a comic spectacle. Of the other stories in the book almost all deal with practical jokes or similar exploits, and one is about a Roman sea-captain afflicted with a fear neurosis similar to those of the deranged soldiers.

There is almost nothing left in Rudyard Kipling's world today but practical jokes and neuroses. Both have played their part in his work from a long time back; but they were part of a larger picture. He used neurotic states of mind at first simply for poetry and pathos as in "They," but through "The House Surgeon" and "In the Same Boat" they become increasingly more morbid. The most convincing parts of this last book deal with people on the borderline of madness. No doubt the panic and the despair of the neurotic Kipling were always the obverse side of the arrogance and energy of the imperialist. This, too, was characteristic of his period: behind the glory of the nineteen hundreds the nerve sanitarium always gaped.

And now that the glory is dimmed and the empire passing what has Kipling left to sustain him? Hysterical laughter over hoaxes, the memory of the heroisms of the War, a half-religious, half-psychical mysticism. Rather depressingly, he goes in for the Masons, whose fellowship has its appeal for him; and out of Christianity, the mysticism of the East, telepathy and cosmic waves, he almost gets a kind of religion. Yet the elements of this relig[illegible]

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lie more or less under the suspicion of being primarily happy ideas for the invention of effective short stories. In one of the best and most moving things in the volume before this, "Debits and Credits," a story called "The Gardener," a mother is guided to the grave of her son by a personage who is presumably Christ—but the impression the story leaves on us is not as deep as it otherwise might be because we have a feeling that Kipling's Christ is largely a literary property, like the Mohammedan law of compensation by which King George in the story called "The Debt" will recover from his pneumonia by reason of once having prevented one of his officers from catching it, or like the machinery of cosmic waves in "Unprofessional"—or for that matter like the photographs on the pupils of the dead man in an old story like "The End of the Passage." In "The Miracle of Saint Jubanus," a practical joke which saves the sanity of a horror-obsessed French soldier by making a French atheist ridiculous is apparently attributed to God Himself—as the unfortunate follower of Spencer and Comte in one of the "Plain Tales from the Hills" was stricken dumb by aphasia in the midst of a thunderstorm in the moment of denying the Almighty.

But "The Conversion of Aurelian McGoggin" was only a minor incident in the world of the early Kipling, whereas today, when the house that he lived in has fallen and he has nothing to support him but his philosophy, we realize as never before how factitious and puerile it is. I have felt for the first time in this last book that Kipling shows signs of growing old. But it is still a satisfaction to read him (except for the verse, which is worse than ever). There is one very funny story called "A Naval Mutiny" about parrots on board ship—a story which exercises at its happiest Kipling's gift for getting poetry and humor out of the shop-jargons of special crafts and callings. And "Unprofessional" seems to me one of the best of Kipling's stories of the supernatural—wound up with a curious expression of humanitarian solicitude which would have been quite foreign to the earlier Kipling of "The End of the Passage" and "The Mark of the Beast."

After all, he is a real writer, such as we get few out of England nowadays, and in his way a citizen of the world.

EDMUND WILSON.

Bronx Cheers

Laughing in the Jungle: The Autobiography of an Immigrant in America, by Louis Adamic. New York: Harper and Brothers. 335 pages. $3.

IN HIS own words, Mr. Adamic's autobiography is "a narrative of the influences which, in 1913, prompted me as a boy of fourteen and a half to leave my native country in Europe and go to America, and of things within my experience as an immigrant living in various parts of the United States that seem interesting or significant, or merely amusing to me personally, and give themselves to telling at this time." What influences guided his decisions that certain things were interesting or significant, or even amusing? The point is important, for "Laughing in the Jungle" is a disheartening book, a book containing a wealth of material left like raw ore because of some faulty process of selection.

Mr. Adamic has an intimate knowledge of an almost unexplored section of America; he has worked in almost every section of the country, and at jobs that figure very rarely in our literature—on shipboard, in restaurants, [illegible] factories, textile mills and construction camps. The period of which he writes was one of social changes so sweeping as to be inescapable, embracing the War, the post-war depression and the boom years that led up to the collapse. What, then, has he found in his explorations through darkest America?

It is a little unfair to call him an explorer; he is rather a tourist with a guide book—the works of H. L. Mencken—always in his hand. He does not tell us what he saw, or what happened to him; he tells us what happened to some of his friends who strayed away and hadn't these magic books to guide them back. His conclusions drawn from their biographies are not hard to summarize. America is a social, economic and spiritual jungle. The natives perform queer antics, and sometimes go insane or starve to death, but the intelligent man need only turn to Mencken, and there it is written—America is a circus. It is a jungle, but it is a funny jungle, or was until 1929. Mr. Adamic saw Steve Radin turn from a prize fighter to a militant radical, and from a radical to a ward heeler, and from a ward heeler to a bootlegger, and this convinced him that the American ideal of go-getting leads to frustration. He saw Blakelock, a superior individual, caught in the toils of mediocrity, condemned to be a captain in the regular army instead of a general, because of his qualifications. He saw Lonie Burton enter the army as an admirer of Wilson, saw him fainting of starvation in Los Angeles after the War, becoming a radical, being railroaded to San Quentin; and this convinced him that "one cannot afford to plunge too deeply into the social and economic issues of American life. One is too apt to be caught in their ramifications, overwhelmed and crushed, without beneficial result to anyone." For the superior individual there is one solution, to be amused at the spectacle of confusion, wander about Los Angeles snickering at the programs of hysterical religions, composing catalogues of "meddlers, busybodies, snoopers, inspirationalists, idealists, crusaders, reformers, rogues, uplifters and nuts of all denominations," and laughing one's head off.

The truth, of course, is that Mr. Adamic has not seen America through the eyes of a laborer working in various sections of the country, but through the mischievous eyes of the Sage of Baltimore. And seen through his eyes, America indeed resembles a jungle, though the fact hardly testifies to the clarity of his vision. There are a dozen tributes to Mencken in "Laughing in the Jungle," and the entire book is a reiteration of much he has been saying for lo these many years, in terms much like those he has so often employed. Whenever some worker shows an intellectual interest, at his first questioning of the capitalist system, he is confidently referred to Mencken, and there it is all written down in black and white: everything is a mess, democracy is the cause of it all, idealism is bilge, nothing can be done about it; the superior individual, the really superior individual, trains himself to chuckle, and amuses himself by cutting quotations out of the provincial newspapers and pasting them together—a game somewhat like crossword puzzles, only lots funnier, and making less demands on the ingenuity.

How much of the contemporary intellectual resistance to social change can be traced back to this irresponsible humorist, with his overworked formulas of sarcasm, his splashings among a few of Nietzsche's ideals, his tireless pummeling of pathetic ghosts and scarecrows? Mr. Adamic carries his recollections up to 1929. After that, laughter doesn't work so well. "Even Mencken," he writes, "is no longer as jolly and entertaining as he used to be."

ROBERT CANTWELL.

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Martyrs of Justice

Convicting the Innocent, by Edwin M. Borchard. New Haven: Yale University Press. 421 pages. $3.75.

THIS IS a book which should be on the desk of every public prosecutor, criminal judge and Governor. It should be carefully studied in connection with all serious criminal cases resting on circumstantial evidence or identification testimony. We all know that countless guilty persons escape conviction. Often this is not because of any doubt that the individual charged was the person who committed the crime, but because of alleged justification or asserted mental aberration. There are also cases, however, in which the jury fails to convict because the witnesses refuse to be certain in their identification. Such hesitancy on the part of witnesses is usually deplored by the prosecutors and often by the press. There seems to be, in general, a desire on the part of a community to convict a suspected criminal, especially if the crime has aroused much excitement.

That the desire to convict often leads to shocking miscarriages of justice is believed by some observers and denied by others. And there is, of course, little agreement on instances. Professor Borchard's book reviews sixty-five cases —all but three of them American and all but thirteen of the present century—in which the truth has ultimately become established and the error of the conviction recognized, if not always by the prosecuting attorney, at least by the pardoning power. The circumstances of each crime, the factors which pointed to the defendant as the guilty party, the general nature of the evidence at the trial and the subsequent legal steps taken, are all briefly described, sometimes with considerable narrative skill, often, however, in unnecessary detail. Professor Borchard tells how the truth became known, and describes the extent to which the authorities coöperated in accepting it. He is also interested in the indemnification of unjustly convicted persons, and has devoted a final chapter and appendix to a general consideration of this subject.

In fifteen of the cases discussed, no crime at all had been committed, but disappearances led to the accusation and conviction of suspected murderers. Similar cases will always recur when community feelings run high and the motives point to murder; it is surprising to find how little evidence has often sufficed for a conviction. The classic example is, of course, that of Boorn, which occurred in Vermont in 1820. Another interesting illustration is the Dabney case (Connecticut, 1925). Professor Borchard tells, often with dramatic force, how the zeal of counsel or the ability of friends brought the dead to life.

Those cases which rest on mistaken identification present, perhaps, the greatest interest. Thirty-nine such are analyzed in this book. In the very first, that of Andrews, (Massachusetts, 1913), seventeen men and women identified the defendant as the person who had passed forged checks upon them. So in the famous Beck case (England, 1896), fourteen women picked out the defendant as the man who had defrauded them. In the more recent case of Payne Boyd (West Virginia, 1925), the person who committed the crime was well known, but six years later a jury erroneously convicted a different individual, accepting the testimony of twenty-four witnesses identifying the accused as the criminal, against that of thirty-nine others who were sure that he was not. In all these cases, the witnesses had had some direct personal dealings with the criminal; yet it was definitely established that their identification of the accused was erroneous.

In a large number of cases, although the witnesses had not previously known the accused persons, and their opportunities for observing the actual criminals had been of the slightest, they had no hesitation in making positive identifications. Often their stories were believed by the jury despite apparently strong alibis. Professor Borchard deals with a score of such cases, including those of Benjamin Collins (Massachusetts, 1928), Everett Howell (Illinois, 1928) and Joseph Nedza (New York, 1930). Many of these identifications were originally based on photographs; others were procured by having the accused assume the pose and kind of clothing in which the criminal had been seen. Positive identification by one person frequently led to identification by others. The long list of cases arising under such varying conditions indicates clearly how unsatisfactory is the present method of identification in criminal trials.

In a brief introductory chapter, Professor Borchard points out some of the main bases of these erroneous convictions, and refers briefly to a recent suggestion by Dean Wigmore that witnesses be required to pick out the accused from a series of talking films. He does not, however, discuss this suggestion or offer one of his own. I have always felt that too little attention is given to the obvious fact that some people have special aptitude for remembering faces and others have almost none. It should be possible to devise a standard psychological test which would classify the ability of witnesses in this direction, so that those falling below a given standard of proficiency would be rejected on issues involving their memory of people's faces.

Professor Borchard does recommend the necessity for review by an appellate court on the facts as well as the law. There can be no doubt of the desirability of this suggestion, but it is very doubtful whether miscarriages of justice will often be discovered by an appellate court. The great difficulty is that even in New York, where the courts have the power to weigh the facts, they are very reluctant to review jury verdicts which rest on conflicting testimony.

The only way in which miscarriages of justice can be effectually prevented is by a thoroughly impartial investigation of cases in which the friends of the accused are insistent upon his innocence, and particularly of cases in which the conviction rests on circumstantial evidence or uncertain identification. Investigations of this sort should not be entrusted to any agencies connected with the original conviction; too often local pride prevents justice being done. It should be pointed out, in this connection, that Professor Borchard has listed a number of cases in which the prosecution not only gave great assistance in disclosing the error but was quick to admit error when established. The experience of Stielow and Green in New York, from 1915 to 1917, illustrates both how difficult it is to change local opinion and how unsafe to put reliance in court review. This case did not rest upon identification, but on circumstantial evidence, expert testimony and a confession obtained under dubious circumstances. Had it not been for the persistent efforts of Mrs. Grace Humiston, the unconventionality of Justice Charles L. Guy and the open-mindedness of Governor Whitman, Stielow would have been electrocuted, although in the subsequent independent investigation it became clear that not he, but one King, had committed the crime. The local Grand Jury nevertheless refused to indict King.

From this rich mine of material one might illustrate indefinitely the defects of our criminal law when administered in a partisan and narrow spirit. Responsibility lies heavily, therefore, on prosecutors, judges and finally on the pardon-

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death or for long imprisonment be carried out. In making this material readily available, Professor Borchard has performed a notable service. It is to be regretted that the book lacks an index. Neither the alphabetical arrangement of the cases nor the footnotes to the introductory chapter adequately take its place. OSMOND K. FRAENKEL.

"Too Much to Die on"

The German Crisis, by H. R. Knickerbocker. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 256 pages. $2.50.

THE OTHER day I was asked by a supposedly intelligent man if Hitler were not supported by Russia. This man had investments in Germany. He didn't know the difference between Fascism and Communism, yet he risked his money on a country where a political change could wipe him out. This man and a legion like him should read H. R. Knickerbocker's "The German Crisis."

It is an important book for the average man seeking readable information about Germany today. One of its outstanding qualities is its extraordinary vividness. "The German Crisis" is alive. It is told with gusto. It has the quality—rare even in fiction—of giving the feeling of a place. Berlin in "Red Wedding"; Berlin in the brilliant West End night life; Communist-Nazi meetings with civil war balanced on the edge of a knife; hunger-stricken Thuringian villages; the glass factories at Jena; the last day of work in a Thuringian glass factory; a crowd of starved children breaking into a wail when there is no more chocolate; the great chemical center of the Leuna works; the reconstructed Krupp works, all live and move before one's eyes.

Equally alive are the different personalities whom Mr. Knickerbocker has interviewed for the pages of the book—people as different as Herr Krupp von Bohlen, who has never before granted a newspaper interview; General Franz von Epp, who is National Socialist observer at the Disarmament Conference; Dr. Oswald Spengler and Adolf Hitler himself. These men he paints against the background of their daily lives. Of Hitler he makes a more human and less exaggerated picture than have most of his recent observers, and because of this his portrait is more devastating.

Certain things emerge overwhelmingly. The lesson Mr. Knickerbocker wishes to convey is the extreme importance to America of Germany's fate. He emphasizes over and over the amount of the American stake in Germany—approximately $4,000,000,000. He shows the individual of this country that no isolation policy is possible for America, that the man-in-the-street's attitude of "We'll mind our own business and we'll let them mind theirs" is out of date and antiquated, since it is totally impossible. Our investments are safe or not as the political future of Germany is stable or unstable.

Mr. Knickerbocker, along with a majority of the observers of Germany, believes that the reparations will never be paid no matter who remains in power in Germany. He points out the fact that "the German youth are indubitably, immovably resolved not to pay reparations any more." Not only are they against reparations, but against all the Versailles treaty. This fact can hardly be overestimated as a guide to the political future. Laws of birth and death, he points out, are against Versailles. There are 13,570,000 voting Germans today who took no part in the War. In thirteen years some twenty-seven million voters will have taken no part in it.

Will Hitler prevail? Mr. Knickerbocker thinks not, if he doesn't play the game of the resurgent national forces of Germany, another form will be chosen, and Hitler has it all ready.

Mr. Knickerbocker's account of how Germany starves and yet does not starve will make interesting reading for anyone who has sense of what the unemployment crisis has done to millions of our own citizens. Fifteen million Germans "do not get enough to live on, but too much to die on." You can see these Germans living on the meagerest of doles, just enough to buy potatoes and bread. Though millions of people in Germany are living barely above the starvation level, their households haven't been torn apart, their self-respect has not been destroyed, as has been that of millions of workmen in this country, with our haphazard and inadequate and destructive way of providing relief.

MARY HEATON VORSE.

Book Notes

TRAVEL

THIRTY YEARS IN THE GOLDEN NORTH, by Jan Welzl. *Translated by Paul Selver. Foreword by Karel Capek; Introduction by Edvard Valenta and B. Golombek. New York: The Macmillan Company. 336 pages. $2.50.*

Welzl was wrecked on the American coast while carrying supplies in a small vessel from San Francisco to the Arctic. As an inhabitant of the Soviet Arctic territories he was deported, but the deportation order sent him back to his birthplace, Czechoslovakia. He did not enjoy living in that civilized country and sought means of returning to New Siberia, where he had great wealth cached and could again assume his rank of Eskimo chief. This book was prepared to earn him the passage money. It was composed from Welzl's oral reminiscences by the two writers to whom the introduction is credited. It is as striking a record of Arctic adventures as has ever been written and gives a more intimate and solid feeling of Arctic life than even the best books on Arctic exploration, though it lacks the breadth and intelligence of their observations. Welzl had remarkable adventures, but the most interesting for him was his discovery of a business more profitable than those of his whaler, trapper and gold-hunter neighbors—the trader's. In a humorous fashion his career parallels that of the founders of fortunes in more comfortable climates; he made his way by the same arts of getting in right with the right people and taking advantage of the misfortunes of others. Some of his observations of Eskimo life seem incredible and were probably gathered by hearsay, since he admits never having lived in any Eskimo house except those of "civilized" Eskimos. In other respects, however, the book gives the persuasive impression of a mind too simple to be capable of fabrication.

THE SPRING JOURNEY, by Alan Pryce-Jones. *New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 320 pages. $3.*

Mr. Pryce-Jones is a young man and allows himself to be dazzled by his accomplishments. He has reason to be, for he is already in command of a deft, sensitive, wittily allusive style that is a pleasure to read. It is not, however, well employed in his book of travels, since it comes between the reader and the author. It sounds peculiarly second-hand in its own terms. We see the author observing himself observing various Levantine shores and cities; the impressions are crowded out by his over-elaborated commentary. Taken as the author's exercise book, its chief value is to call attention to a new and promising British talent; and there will be many readers, it is to be hoped, who, being fond of virtuosity, will enjoy watching Mr. Pryce-Jones exercise.

WORLD POLITICS

JAPAN: Some Phases of Her Problems and Development, by Inazo Nitobé. *New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 398 pages. $5.*

The author of this book is the person addressed by Dr. Buell in

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widely in the political literature of Europe, but he seems to have been mainly influenced by the pre-war German liberal professors of political science, who, of all Germans, understood politics least. The abracadabra in which he indulges whenever he has occasion to speak of the mystical relation of the reigning house to the Japanese people, shows that in some respects he excels his masters; for the sole purpose of this cabalistic jargon is to gloze over the ugly fact that the present governmental system of Japan is a military despotism, tinged with religion, veneered with the Prussian brand of constitutionalism, and adapted to capitalism, modern as well as antediluvian. The discussion of the relations of Japan to China and Russia manifests considerable disingenuousness. In domestic affairs Dr. Nitobé occasionally permits himself to utter a mild criticism of the government. The best chapters in the book are those dealing with education, labor, food and population. The chapter on the "historical background" seems to indicate that as yet the Japanese do not know too much of their own early history.

PROTECTION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN SOVIET RUSSIA, by Alice Withrow Field. *New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 241 pages. $3.*

Besides a rich and intimate knowledge of the position of women and children in various American and European countries, Mrs. Alice Withrow Field, sociologist and psychologist, has brought to her researches in the Moscow clinics, hospitals and nurseries a rare degree of sympathetic understanding of the immediate policies and ultimate objectives of the Soviet government. The book is authoritative, well documented, and is likely to appeal not only to the general reader but to the educators, psychologists and sociologists as well. Among the topics treated are woman's legal rights, marriage and divorce, abortion and birth control, maternity care, the treatment of prostitutes, types of creches, etc. "The study," correctly suggests Dean George F. Arps in his appreciative preface, "is so explicit as to leave no doubt as to the place which the nurture and culture of childhood, the protection of motherhood and the importance of health occupy in the social and educational philosophy of the Soviet Republic. . . . The *method* employed by the Russian psychologists . . . teaches a lesson too valuable to escape careful attention, and this quite independent of any predilections one may entertain as to social organization."

WAR AND DIPLOMACY IN THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, by Frederick L. Schuman. *New York: Whittlesey House. 452 pages. $4.*

This volume is the first of a series of studies in the causes of war, undertaken by members of the Social Science Department of the University of Chicago. Its purpose is to give a "behavioristic account of those patterns of social action which underlie French foreign policy and which have their exact counterparts in the foreign policies of all other Great Powers." After describing the system by which French foreign relations are controlled, Professor Schuman shows how that system works. For this purpose he has selected a number of examples, such as the taking of Tunis, the assumption of the White Man's Burden in the Far East, Madagascar, and the occupation of the Ruhr. Throughout all of these undertakings, he finds that France has been dominated by a "power concept," and that this concept cannot be controlled by internal constitutional restrictions: the only hope lies in a modification of national interests through world organization. The third part of the book discusses the formulation of foreign policy—a topic which would seem logically to belong in the first part. One of his most interesting sections is that which frankly discusses the venality of the French press.

Verse

A TREASURY OF IRISH POETRY IN THE ENGLISH TONGUE, edited by Stopford A. Brooke and T. W. Rolleston. *New York: The Macmillan Company. 610 pages. $3.*

This collection of Irish poetry has been revised and enlarged to include, along with the translations from the original Gaelic and the work of Irish poets writing directly in the English tongue, the poetry of the generation following Yeats and Æ. The critical introductions to the work of the more important poets, like James Clarence Mangan and Aubrey De Vere are contributed by William Butler Yeats, Lionel Johnson and others. If for no other reason the collection would [illegible]

Fiction

MEN PASS, by Marcelle Capy. *Translated by Victor Yakhontoff. New York: Liveright, Inc. $2.50.*

A French peasant village during the War, emptied of men who had joined the army, is reproduced in this novel. Concentrating only on the happenings in the village, omitting all description of battle scenes or soldiers on parade, the author manages to convey a vivid idea of what the War meant to the French peasants who, either because of sex or age, did not bear arms. At first they thought of it as a gay adventure and cheerfully did the strong men's work in the fields, confident that their soldiers would return in a few weeks and trusting in their government as implicitly as they trusted in God. With the passing of years, their morale is shriveled by despair, and the adventure becomes a horrible one, affecting themselves more tragically than it does their soldiers.

ROMANCE OF A DICTATOR, by George Slocombe. *Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.50.*

Obviously using Mussolini as his model, Mr. Slocombe tells the story of Hannibal, who became dictator of Thalia—how he shifted from radicalism to conservatism at the end of the War, how he built up an army of devoted followers and how, by a bold march on the capital, he overthrew constitutional government. Hannibal differs from his prototype in one important respect: he falls in love in such a headlong fashion that he is willing to give up his career for the woman he worships. Without this romantic weakness, Hannibal would be vastly more convincing.

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Contributors

JOHN T. FLYNN, who is a frequent contributor to various American magazines, is the author of "Investment Trusts Gone Wrong!" (The New Republic Dollar Series), and of "Graft in Business," which was published last fall by the Vanguard Press. His biography of John D. Rockefeller will appear this fall under the imprint of Harcourt, Brace.

GEORGE S. COUNTS, professor of Education at Teachers' College, Columbia University, has published several books on education and on Russia. The two articles in The New Republic, of which this is the second, will be published this month in an expanded form by the John Day Company. They are based on several recent addresses given by him before educational associations.

SYLVIA TOWNSEND WARNER, the English novelist and poet, is the author, among other volumes, of "Lolly Willowes," "Mr. Fortune's Maggot," and "Opus 7," a long poem.

MATTHEW JOSEPHSON, the author of lives of Zola and Rousseau, and a frequent contributor to various American magazines, is at present living on his farm in Sherman, Connecticut.

RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL, research director of the Foreign Policy Association and author of a number of volumes on international affairs, contributes to The New York Times Magazine and other periodicals. His open letter was, of course, written before the assassination of Premier Inukai.

ROBERT CANTWELL is the author of "Laugh and Lie Down." At present he is doing free-lance writing in New York City and completing his second novel.

OSMOND K. FRAENKEL is an attorney of New York City, the author of "The Sacco-Vanzetti Case" and a contributor to legal periodicals.

MARY HEATON VORSE, the well known novelist, whose most recent book was "Strike," traveled extensively through England and Germany last summer gathering material for articles which were subsequently published in

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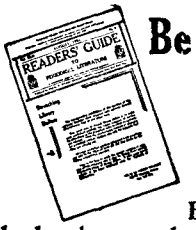

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